

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK.

On behalf of the womanhood of the Empire we tender to our most gracious King and Queen, on this day of national rejoicing, our loyal and devoted service. May their reign be long and prosperous and their lives happy! May the Empire under their guidance advance in strength, in honour, and in righteousness! And may men and women, rendered equal by the law, secure by their united work a future of the race nobler and grander than any that was dreamed of in days gone by!

Victory Coming!

Very near at hand is the hour of the enfranchisement of women. One by one the obstacles have been beaten down, little by little the opposition has been

driven back. Progress has gone on at an ever-accelerating rate. During the past week alone two striking events have to be chronicled. One is the mighty march of Saturday last, which won from friend and foe a unanimous tribute of admiration and respect. The other is the publication of a statement by the Prime Minister on the subject of Votes for Women which clears up the points still left doubtful in the important pronouncement of Sir Edward Grey.

The Great Procession.

It is now three years since Mr. Herbert Gladstone, speaking from the Front Government Bench in the House of Commons, called upon women to show, by great outdoor demonstrations, their demand for enfranchisement, and added that in asking them to do this he realised that he could not expect that women would be able to turn out in such large numbers as men had done for other franchise reforms. Since that speech was made women have fulfilled many times over Mr. Gladstone's demand. They have given proof of numbers not only as great, but far greater than any numbers in which men have demonstrated. But on Saturday last all previous records were broken and surpassed. It can be said without fear of contradiction that no such procession ever walked through the streets of London or any city of the world before. Whether it be judged by the standard of numerical strength, of beauty of design, of enthusiasm, of consummate organisation, the women's march of Saturday, June 17, will stand out for ever a great event in the history of the world.

The Marchers.

In the ranks of the women's army were women of every class and profession, of every political and

religious creed. Great and noble women were there, women who have deserved well of their country. Included in it were representatives of every civilised nation of the world. Militant and non-militant suffrage societies were all present. In between the many contingents made up of members of the Women's Social and Political Union were the solid phalanxes of the National Union of Suffrage Societies, of the Women's Freedom League, of the Actresses, of the Graduates, of the Church Leagues, of the Writers and Artists, the Musicians, the Conservative Franchise Association, the men's organisations, and many others too numerous to name. It took three hours for the procession to pass a given point, and the head had reached the Albert Hall a full hour and a half before the tail had left the Embankment. Seven miles of women marching five abreast!

The Onlookers.

Remarkable, too, were the crowd who came to look on. They were massed ten deep on both sides of the line of route. Many had bought places in the stands erected for viewing the Coronation procession; others had secured a special vantage ground at some point on the route, as in Trafalgar Square, where thousands were congregated, whilst the Albert Memorial was a seething mass of humanity determined to catch sight of the procession as it reached its destination. And it was a crowd thoroughly friendly and even enthusiastic. There were none of the jeering comments which were the accompaniments of the Suffrage processions in the early years. Nor was there any longer the silence of a year or two ago. All along the route vigorous cheers were raised, given with especial zest to the well-known leaders of the different sections of the movement and to the beautiful historical and Empire pageants, the uni-

versally admired production of the artist members of the W.S.P.U.

At their Posts.

A large number of members of the W.S.P.U. very generously gave up the honour of walking in the Procession in order to fulfil important positions necessary to turn the day to the best account. Among these were the officers and stewards who had charge of the meetings in the Albert Hall and Empress Rooms, and also the splendid body of paper-sellers, numbering 200 in all, who succeeded in selling to the assembled crowd not less than 10,000 copies of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*. This grand total far surpasses all previous records of paper selling on a single day, and we are glad to know that, in addition, several new permanent subscribers were obtained. Special opportunities for paper-selling in the future are referred to later under "Announcements."

The Procession Described.

We have pleasure in presenting our readers this week with a graphic description of the procession, specially written for this paper by the distinguished war correspondent, Mr. W. H. Nevins. We also reproduce a number of photographs taken by our representative as well as others kindly lent to us by various journals. Among the accounts given by the Press, fuller extracts from which will be found reproduced on page 632, we may mention here the description given of the procession by the *Daily Chronicle* as "an impressive demonstration fitted to startle even the least observant"; that of the *Westminster Gazette*, that it was "a great and striking success"; the words of the *Times* comparing it with previous processions:—"This was beyond them all in numbers and effect"; the view of the *Daily Telegraph*:—"The organisation was perfect"; the phrase of the *Morning Leader*:—"No royal review at Aldershot was marshalled and rounded up with more smartness than this"; or again the *Manchester Guardian*:—"There was no confusion although confusion would have been easy; the police have so much confidence in the women that they left them to their huge task unaided"; while the *Daily News* concludes a striking leading article with these words:—"This unity of women and this universality of the cause lift the movement into the rank of the great revolutions, and the march to the Albert Hall may take its place with the march of the women to Versailles."

The Meetings.

Arrived at its destination the members of the procession found places (as far as numbers permitted) in various halls. The Royal Albert Hall was packed from floor to ceiling by the Women's Social and Political Union, who also held an overflow meeting in the Empress Rooms. The Women's Freedom League and other societies were accommodated in the Kensington Town Halls, while the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies held a reception in the Portman Rooms. Many thousands of women were unable to gain admittance anywhere. At the meeting in the Albert Hall the chair was taken by Mrs. Pankhurst, and after Miss Christabel Pankhurst had dealt with the new political situation created by Mr. Asquith's statement, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence touched on the part women played in building up the Empire. In response to her call for contributions to the war chest of the Union the £100,000 fund was speedily completed, and the announcement that women would go on to raise a Quarter of a Million, if that were necessary, was met by a shower of promises which brought up the total, including the collection, to £103,400. Mrs. Annie Besant then delivered a speech full of inspiration and encouragement to the women who are fighting the battle of freedom, and the meeting closed with a few words from Miss Vida Goldstein. At the Empress Rooms the chair was taken by Mr. Pethick Lawrence, and Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Goldstein, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst were the speakers. Full reports are given elsewhere.

The Premier's Statement.

The statement on Woman Suffrage by Mr. Asquith, to which we have already made reference, took the form of a letter to Lord Lytton sent in reply to one from him to the Prime Minister. Lord Lytton had asked for assurances (1) that the facilities offered for next Session were intended as an effective opportunity for carrying the Bill, and not merely for academic discussion; (2) that the week offered would not be construed rigidly, and also that provided the Committee stage were got through in the time, additional days for report and third reading would be forthcoming; and (3) that there would be reasonable opportunities for making use

of the closure. To this Mr. Asquith replied on Friday last as follows:—

My Dear Lytton,—In reply to your letter on the subject of facilities for the Women's Enfranchisement Bill, I would refer you to some observations recently made in a speech at the National Liberal Club by Sir Edward Grey, which accurately express the intentions of the Government.

It follows (to answer your specific inquiries) that "the week" offered will be interpreted with reasonable elasticity, that the Government will interpret as no obstacle to a proper use of the closure, and that if (as you suggest) the Bill gets through Committee in the time proposed, the extra days required for report and third reading would not be refused.

The Government, though divided in opinion on the merits of the Bill, are unanimous in their determination to give effect not only in the letter but in the spirit to the promise in regard to facilities which I made on their behalf before the last General Election.—Yours, etc.,

H. H. ASQUITH.

This statement amounts in our opinion to a promise of full facilities for next year.

View of the "Manchester Guardian."

The situation is very clearly analysed by the *Manchester Guardian* in the course of a leading article which appeared on Saturday last. After pointing out that the Prime Minister confirms and strengthens the pledge as given on behalf of the Government by Sir Edward Grey, the writer proceeds:—

The "week" offered will, he [Mr. Asquith] says, "be interpreted with reasonable elasticity," and not only so, but if the Bill gets through Committee "in the time proposed"—that is, in the elastic week—"the extra days required for report and third reading would not be refused." Finally, in regard to the all-important question of the closure, Lord Lytton says: "We assume that the promoters of the Bill would have the ordinary facilities of the closure which would be available in the case of a Government Bill," and to this the Prime Minister replies: "The Government will oppose no obstacle to a proper use of the closure." This is, we think, sufficient.

The writer goes on to discuss the various forms of closure: the ordinary closure and the "kangaroo" closure can both be brought into operation by private members, and will therefore be available for the promoters of the Bill, while the "guillotine" closure, which can only be moved by one of the Ministers of the Crown, may not be required, but if it is it might well be moved by one of the friends of Woman Suffrage in the Cabinet. The writer continues:—

Of course goodwill must be assumed on the part of the Government—that is, an honest desire to give the House of Commons every reasonable facility for passing the Bill if it so desires—and this is precisely what Mr. Asquith assures us will be forthcoming. "The Government," he tells us, "though divided in opinion on the merits of the Bill, are unanimous in the determination to give effect not only in the letter but in the spirit to the promise in regard to facilities which I made on their behalf before the last general election"—the promise, that is, for adequate facilities for the passing of a Women's Franchise Bill through all its stages in the House of Commons.

In our leading article this week and in the reports of the speeches by Miss Christabel Pankhurst at the Albert Hall and Mr. Pethick Lawrence at the Empress Rooms, the view of the Women's Social and Political Union with regard to this statement is set forth.

At the Queen's Hall.

Following on the great success of the previous Saturday a crowded meeting was held by the W.S.P.U. in the Queen's Hall on Monday last. Mrs. Pankhurst from the chair outlined the aims of the women's movement and introduced to the audience amid great cheers Madame Yvette Guilbert, who made a clever and witty speech, showing the urgent need of women for greater recognition in the government of the country. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence spoke of the self-sacrifice and enthusiasm which had gone to make up the success of Saturday's demonstration, of the work of the artists, of the hearty co-operation of the London members who had accepted loyally the last place in the Procession in order that the other societies, the guests of the W.S.P.U., might come earlier. She also sketched out the vigorous work which lay before the Union in the coming year. The Rev. Percy Dearmer gave a clear and thoughtful speech, of which we shall hope to give a report in a later issue. A sum of £50 was raised in promises and collection.

Australian Premier and Naturalisation Laws.

An important deputation of women, including Lady Stout and Lady Cockburn, waited on the Rt. Hon. Andrew Fisher, on Friday last, to urge upon his attention the position of women under the naturalisation laws. Miss Vida Goldstein, who spoke on behalf of the deputation, said she understood it was proposed to introduce special legislation to enable Australian men and New Zealand men to become citizens of this country; she wanted to know whether this would apply equally to women. This is of great importance because the naturalisation laws of Australia and New Zealand are more just to women than those of Great Britain. Mr. Fisher stated that the matter had been discussed at the Imperial Conference, and he was hopeful that the statute, when it was passed, would be found satisfactory in this respect. He added that the question as to the position of married women had been pressed privately on the notice of Ministers by Colonial statesmen.

International Suffrage Congress.

Over a thousand delegates attended the meetings of the International Suffrage Congress held during last week in Stockholm, and one of the first acts of the Congress was to

pass and send to Mr. Asquith a resolution in support of the Conciliation Bill. Another act was the formation of an international men's league to further the interests of the movement. The Congress adjourned on Saturday, having decided to hold the next Congress in 1913 in Hungary. Among the delegates was Miss Nina Boyle, who has frequently spoken on platforms of the W.S.P.U.

Women and the Insurance Bill.

The Women's Co-operative Guild, the Lancashire and Cheshire Women Textile and Other Workers' Representation Committee, have passed resolutions severely criticising the treatment of women under the Insurance Bill, and on Friday last a deputation from these bodies and from the Women's Trade Union League waited upon the Chancellor to explain their views. Miss MacArthur pointed out that women would be insured during the most healthy part of their lives, but would cease to receive benefit when they needed it most. Mr. Lloyd George disputed the facts brought forward, and claimed that his proposals were eminently just on the ground that women would get all to which they were actually entitled. This contention is dealt with in the report of a speech by Mr. Pethick Lawrence, which we give on page 624. From this it will be seen that Mr. Lloyd George, in order to make out his case, has to presuppose that it is just to place upon the young girls before marriage the burden of insuring the widows in their declining years.

The Press on Militancy.

Two interesting comments on militancy have been made by the Press during the past week. The *Daily News*, in a leading article reviewing Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's new book, "The Suffragette," says:—

She does not put the question which the average man and woman are still asking: Do the militant tactics pay? The final answer has still to be given, but of one thing there can be no doubt at all. The pioneers of 1905 found woman suffrage an academic question; they have made it a vital issue of national affairs.

The *Westminster Gazette*, in a note on the Procession, says:—

We do not intend to repeat what we have often had occasion to say as to militancy, but its effect has certainly been to "live up" the movement in favour of the suffrage. Of that Saturday's Pageant (for that is what it really amounted to) is the best possible proof.

We believe the day is fast approaching when the value and even the necessity of the militant tactics which have been adopted by the Suffragettes will be openly acknowledged.

Items of Interest.

One of the most noteworthy figures in the Procession on Saturday last was the distinguished artist, Mrs. Swynnerton. We hope to be able to give to our readers a short interview with her in our next issue.

We have received from the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement a copy of their first annual report. Five imprisonments have been incurred on behalf of the cause to date, and a sum of £850 had been raised up to the middle of January. The Union has twelve branches outside London and has been of the very greatest assistance to the W.S.P.U. in bringing the question to the front.

The Manchester branch of the Men's League also forwards us their annual report showing a vigorous work of propaganda during the year.

The campaign in France in favour of extending the municipal vote to women is growing rapidly. The support of 163 Deputies has been secured. The women appeal to the legislators to say by their votes that Frenchwomen are not inferior to the women of other countries who already possess the municipal franchise.

Members of the W.S.P.U. and friends are invited to avail themselves of the huge crowds in London streets during Coronation days to effect a great sale of the paper. Particulars of the special arrangements are given on page 624.

THE DEPUTATION.

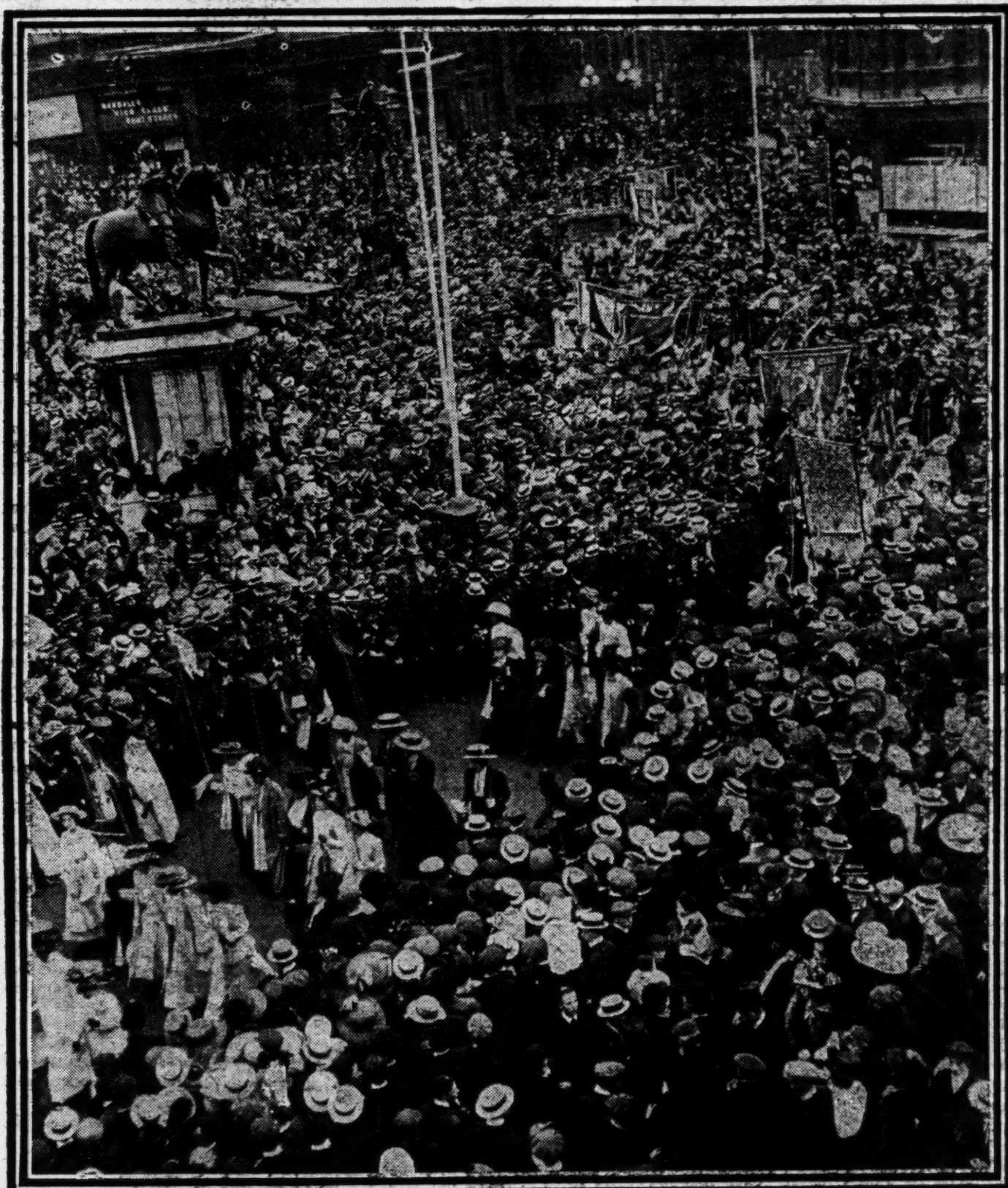
One of the things in the great Procession on Saturday which moved one most was the sight of that veteran Suffragist, Mrs. Saul Solomon, who, wheeled in a bath chair, with a young child sitting at her feet, carried a banner bearing the words, "Join the Deputation." In spite of the assurances given by the Government, Mrs. Saul Solomon's advice is as important to-day as it ever was, and from now until the day that the Conciliation Bill is finally passed into law we shall continue to enrol the names of those prepared to make vigorous protest against any further trifling with this question.

On Saturday morning came a letter from Hull, giving the names of six women who have decided to join the deputation. Several names have lately been received from other parts of the country and from members living in London.

A member, who, with her sister, walked 20 miles on Census night to evade the Census, writes that she wishes to be included in the deputation list. Another member writes:—

If you find it necessary to have another deputation, I should like to give in my name to go, as I think it is quite time the question was settled properly for us, and not played with. Being a widow and depending on myself, I have not been able to offer before.

All who wish to make absolutely certain of victory should send in their names to 4, Clements Inn.



1. The Prisoners' Pageant. (Photo: Hekrhahn & Co.)

2. Miss Annan Bryce as Joan of Arc. (Kindly lent by the "Daily Mirror.")

3. The Procession passing through Trafalgar Square. (Kindly lent by the "Daily Mirror.")

4. Mrs. Mansell-Moullin, Hon. Organiser of the Welsh Contingent, in National Costume. (Photo: Weston, Sloane St.)

5. The Empire Car. (Kindly lent by the "Daily Mirror.")

6. Voteless Women after the Reform Bill of 1832. (G.P.P.)



WOMEN AND THE INSURANCE BILL.

Report of a speech by Mr. Pethick Lawrence at the Queen's Hall on June 12.

(The first part of the speech was given in our issue of June 16.)

The most serious defect in the Insurance Bill is the treatment of married women. If a woman on marriage gives up her own wage-earning employment and devotes her whole time to the care of the home and the children she finds herself almost entirely outside the scope of the Bill. She is not compulsorily insured, and she is not allowed to come into the scheme voluntarily. If her husband is sick, not only will he be able to draw 10s. a week sick benefit, but he will also have free medical attendance, and in the case of consumption he will have the use of the sanatoria specially provided. But if the wife gets sick she will have none of these things: there will be no benefit money; no free medical attendance, no right to the sanatoria.

Consider what happens when the wife of a working man is ill. The home duties have still to be done, the house kept clean, the food bought and cooked, the children looked after; unless, therefore, the wife is able to pay someone else to come in and do this work, or to recall a grown-up daughter who would otherwise be earning money, she herself, ill as she is, will have to drag herself through her usual daily round. Not only will this be fraught with very serious consequences to herself, but it will be very bad for her family and also for the community as a whole. A scheme of National Insurance is designed, not merely in the interests of the individual but in the interests of the community. It is specially with this object, for instance, that the sanatoria for consumptives have been provided. But it will altogether fail to achieve the desired end if the mothers are left out of its scope and obliged, while they are ill, to go about their ordinary duties.

I have said that the wife of the working man who devotes her whole time to her home duties is not in any way insured under the Bill; that is strictly true, but, at the same time it is right to add that the insurance of the husband covers a grant for a maternity benefit. The amount of this benefit is 30s., and is inclusive of medical attendance, i.e., only that which is over out of the 30s. after paying the doctor's fee will be available for necessities for the mother or child, and even this surplus will not be given in cash to the mother to spend as she thinks best, but will be handed over (presumably to the husband) in kind. In reference to this maternity benefit it should be noticed that if the husband is only "insured" under the Post Office scheme, and if he has already run through all his money owing to his own illness, there will be no money available for maternity benefit.

Turning now to the much smaller class of married women, who continue after marriage in the labour market, Mr. Lloyd George's scheme provides for their continued insurance as though they were not married, i.e., they will be able to draw 7s. 6d., a week sick benefit, to have free medical attendance and the advantage of the special sanatoria. But in the event of their sickness taking the form of the great national service of maternity, it is a remarkable fact that they will be worse off than they would be if it were some ordinary illness; for in the case of maternity during the four weeks when they are obliged to absent themselves from work, they will only draw a total of 30s. (7s. 6d. a week), and from this will have to be deducted the cost of medical attendance before anything is given to them either for any necessities of themselves or the baby, or for the general upkeep of the family.

It should further be noticed that in the Bill no specific mention is made of the work of midwives, and it is very much feared that under the Bill as it stands, the mother would be obliged to employ a doctor, even though she might very much prefer the assistance of a midwife. This defect the Association of Midwives are bringing to the notice of the Chancellor.

When a woman's husband dies she will be entitled to re-enter the scheme, and she will take it up just where she left it on leaving paid work at marriage. But it should be noticed that a very large proportion of widows do home work and do not receive money wages, therefore they will not be able to come into the scheme unless they can afford the very heavy contribution required for voluntary insurance.

Mr. Lloyd George's Defence.

Mr. Lloyd George defends the treatment of women under the Bill on two main grounds. He argues, firstly, that the Bill achieves its principal object, which is the insurance of the breadwinner, and that to attempt to cover in its provisions the married woman would be too costly; it would also be impossible, he says, to check malingering in their case. Secondly, he argues that the Bill cannot be unfair between men and women because the funds will be kept separate, and women are being given the full actuarial value of their contributions.

Neither of these arguments which Mr. Lloyd George brings forward has any real weight. His first suggestion that only the husband is to be insured, because he is the breadwinner, rests upon a fallacy, the fallacy which is contained in the expression used in the Bill, "the wife is supported by her husband." When a woman leaves the ordinary labour market on marriage she undertakes to do for nothing a very large amount of labour for which the

husband, if his wife were dead, would have to pay good wages. The fact that no money passes from one to the other does not alter the fact that the home and the family are supported not by the husband alone, but by the joint labour of husband and wife, and if either is incapacitated there is a diminution in the family income which ought to be covered by insurance. In so far as Mr. Lloyd George's Bill only provides for the insurance of one of the family breadwinners, it is a one-sided and inadequate Bill. The suggestion that the cost of including the women would be too great is always one that is made with regard to any question in which women are concerned. It is no real answer. The scheme ought to be framed actuarially so as to include married women. By that I mean that the amount of the contributions and benefits ought to be so adjusted as to render it possible to insure them. In particular the State ought to be called on to contribute 2d. a week on their behalf equally to that paid on behalf of the men.

The suggestion that malingering would occur applies at most to a very small percentage of working men's wives, whose unflagging industry on behalf of their families is common knowledge. This idea ought not to provide the excuse for the exclusion of a whole class of women any more than it is allowed to do in the case of men similarly situated. Speaking recently in Wales in defence of the Insurance Bill, Mr. McKenna is reported to have said that "they would be told that the benefits under the Bill would lead to pretended sickness. But the forces used by the friendly societies to combat malingering would operate under the Bill. They must look to the national conscience to prevent malingering, but he would rather face the risk of sick benefit being paid to a malingeringer than see such benefit denied to the deserving workman." If, as we suppose, Mr. Lloyd George supports this refutation with regard to men, he ought not to use the argument in the case of women.

The Fallacy of the "Separate Fund."

Mr. Lloyd George's last defence, though specious, is the weakest of all. It amounts to nothing more nor less than an assumption that it is just that the whole insurance provision for the widows during their years of decline should fall upon the young girls. It is admitted that the years from 16 to 24 are the years of health (Mr. Lloyd George himself is reported to have said that if he had only these years to consider insurance could be effected by a contribution of a penny a week), and, therefore, when the girl marries and forfeits any right to draw on the fund there is, on the average, a large sum standing to her credit. This is to be withheld from her, but is to go to the women's part of the fund, which will be available for those of the widows who are in a position to recommence insurance on their husband's death.

No more inequitable proposal could be imagined. I have already pointed out that when a man and woman marry they pool their resources, and that all the contributions paid out of their joint labour go solely to providing insurance for the man. But it is a still greater scandal that the provision for the man in his declining years shall also come out of this fund to which they have both contributed; while the provision for the widow comes solely out of her own contributions as a girl and out of the contributions of other young women which have lapsed owing to their being unable to re-enter the scheme.

If such a proposal were the necessary result of our family laws and customs, then it would prove that these were in need of fundamental alteration. But it is not the necessary result, and if the parliamentary vote were not solely in the hands of men the Chancellor would not have dared to frame his Bill on a basis so flagrantly unjust to women.

[I shall be glad to answer in the columns of this paper any questions with regard to the provisions of the Bill as far as they specially affect women.—F. W. P. L.]

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

W.S.P.U. Offices, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

These offices will be closed from midday Wednesday, June 21, until Monday morning, June 26.

Dr. Ethel Smyth's Concert.

Readers are reminded that on Thursday evening, June 29, Miss Ethel Smyth, Mus. Doc., will repeat her concert by special desire, at the Queen's Hall, Langham Place, W., at 8 p.m. The concert will be given with the kind assistance of Madame Blanche Marchesi and her pupils; Mrs. Elsie Swinton; the Crystal Palace Choir of 200 voices (conductor, Mr. Walter Hedgcock), and the London Symphony Orchestra. The programme will include "The Wreckers' Overture," "On the Cliffs of Cornwall," Songs from "The Wreckers," "The Spirits of the Forest," "Sleepless Dreams," "Hey Nonny No," and the new Chorus Group, "The Songs of Summer." Tickets, 10s. 6d., 7s. 6d., and 5s. (numbered and reserved), 2s. 6d. and 1s. (unreserved) may be obtained from Miss Cooke, Ticket Secretary, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Lord Lytton at Queen's Hall.

It is hoped that our readers will make the Queen's Hall meeting on Monday next, June 26, at 3 p.m. (for 3.15), widely known among Coronation visitors. The speakers at this meeting, which promises to be most interesting, will be Mr. Pethick Lawrence, Lord Lytton and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B. Miss Lucy Burns, our Edinburgh Organizer, who has established a very high record in the Union, both for personal courage and for organizing success, is recalled to New York by the illness of her mother. On Monday the members

will have an opportunity of bidding her farewell, and of presenting her with a memento of their appreciation and affection. Owing to Dr. Ethel Smyth's concert on Thursday, June 29, the usual weekly meeting at the Steinway Hall will be postponed to Friday, June 30, at 8 p.m., when the speakers will be Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Vida Goldstein, and others. The Monday meetings in July will be held in the London Pavilion, Piccadilly Circus.

Christmas Fete and Fair.

Preparations are being made for a special fete and fair in the colours of the W.S.P.U., to be held the first week in December. Members of the Union are invited to do all in their power to make this a very great success, so that there may be a large increase in the funds of the Union. Further particulars will be announced later.

Mrs. Pankhurst's Tour in Wales.

Members who are making plans for summer holidays are reminded that Mrs. Pankhurst is to speak at the chief watering places in Wales during the last week in July and the first week in August. The places to be visited are Llandudno, Rhyl, Colwyn Bay, Aberystwyth, Llandrindod Wells, and Tenby. Helpers are wanted to advertise meetings in these places by chalking, distributing handbills, and by paper selling. Any members who live in these places or who are going to spend their holiday near them are asked to communicate immediately with the Welsh organiser, Miss Rachel Barrett, 104, Cathedral Road, Cardiff.

Paper-Selling During Coronation Week.

Every paper-seller of this Union will be needed on Coronation day and the day following, to sell the paper to the huge crowds who will fill the streets on both days. The crowds will begin to line the streets from 10 p.m. on the evenings of Wednesday and Thursday. Carriage traffic will be held up at 4.30 a.m., and pedestrians at 7.30 a.m., so the best time for selling will be late at night or in the early hours of the morning. Miss Craggs has made special arrangements for the two days, and looks to paper-sellers to help her. Papers can be obtained at the Charing Cross Pitch, 41, St. Martin's Lane, from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m.; the Confectionery Stores, Railway Approach, London Bridge, open night and day; from the Men's Political Union, open day and night; and from the Woman's Press, open by trade entrance from 8 a.m. till 10 p.m. Further particulars can be had from Miss Craggs, at the Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

"Votes for Women" Week.

Arrangements are being made to have a special VOTES FOR WOMEN Week from July 13 to 20, when a determined effort will be made to secure an additional thousand permanent new readers to the paper. Further particulars will be given in our next issue.

Pictures of the Procession.

Cinematograph pictures of the Women's Coronation Procession are on view at the Coliseum (twice daily), at the Kensington Picture Palace, and elsewhere in London and the Provinces.

The Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

The Woman's Press draw special attention to the new book, "The Suffragette," by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, containing a history of the militant movement for Woman Suffrage, which can be obtained, price 6s. net; also to the second edition of Mr. Pethick Lawrence's "Women's Fight for the Vote," which is valuable for new readers, price 6d. in paper covers, 1s. in cloth; The Woman's Press have also a few copies left of the special memento of the procession, price 4d. each. The shop will be closed on Thursday and Friday, June 22 and 23, but will be open as usual on Saturday, June 24.

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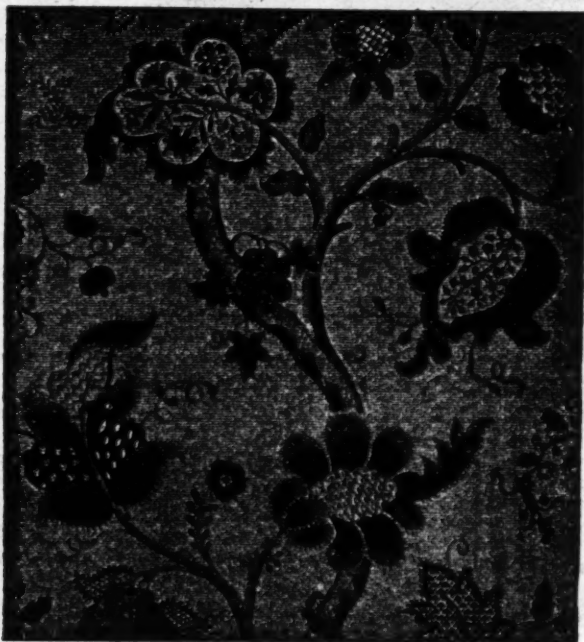
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THREE PLAYS BY BRIEUX.

In his preface to the English version of "Three Plays by Brieux" Bernard Shaw calls the author a "ruthless revealer of hidden truth and a mighty destroyer of idols," and in truth he is so. From the standpoint of the Feminist movement, women have cause for deep gratitude to M. Brieux, for, with strong moral courage, deep sympathy and much charity, he draws aside the veil which the masculine half of humanity, unconsciously, perhaps, have thrown over the tragic results of their misdoings.

For the first time, I believe, these plays have been translated into English; "Maternity," however, is not new to us. Some years back it shocked the sensibilities of those whose creed is "let sleeping dogs lie," and "The Three Daughters of M. Dupont" was played in public by the Stage Society in 1905.

"Maternity" deals with the subject of enforced motherhood and unmarried motherhood, and in it the author reveals the sufferings of women under both conditions; further, the hypocrisy of social conventions and the injustice of the law, made by one half of humanity with a view to shirking the responsibilities incurred by moments of careless self-indulgence. Although the onslaught against the purely commercial side of marriage may be more applicable to France than England, although he it said there is still too much of that with us yet, the feeling, thought, and whole trend of the play will find echo in hearts wheresoever women love and suffer. Madame Brignac, worn out with incessantly recurring motherhood, is hardly less pitiful a figure than the young seduced and deserted Annette, whose only faults were those of ignorance and loving too well. Into the mouth of the married mother, defending her unfortunate and helpless sister, Monsieur Brieux puts the question which, though often asked, has yet to be answered: "If there is guilt, two people are guilty; why do you only punish the mother?" The play ends in sorrow. The author is dealing with life and facts, and has no use for happy endings where happy endings cannot possibly be; but from beginning to end it is one long cry for the rending of the veil of hypocrisy, and pity and charity for the helpless and deserted mothers.

"The Three Daughters of Monsieur Dupont" strikes the same note, but deals with directly opposite conditions. Here we have a woman, most desirous of children, enforced to forego motherhood through the selfishness of her husband; we have also the miserable results of a purely commercial marriage, and the pathetic life of a woman, no longer in her first youth, to whom marriage has not come, and for whom life holds little else besides. It is plain in this play that M. Brieux wishes to preach that marriage from any other motive whatsoever but real love is profanation and degradation, and how, in such unions, the woman mostly suffers more than the man.

The most daring and most courageous of all three plays is the one entitled "Damaged Goods," because it deals, for most people, with a strictly forbidden subject. The play is depressing and even painful, but there is no hint of anything to arouse disgust, unless—as the author says in his own preface to the play—"we must believe that folly and ignorance are necessary conditions of female virtue." The story may be told in a few words. The first act opens with a consultation between Georges Dupont, a young man of the world, and a doctor, the latter simply and gravely telling him that, as the result of an unchaste life, he has contracted a disease which makes marriage for him at the present moment an act of criminal selfishness. Georges is engaged to a cousin, with the prospect of a big dowry, and it takes great pressure on the doctor's part to make his patient promise to defer his marriage for at least six months, even though it is made clear to him that that is not sufficient time to make it safe for wife and possible children. After six months Georges marries, bringing suffering and sorrow in consequence; his child is born diseased and infects its nurse, who in all probability will carry the infection to other innocent victims. The play ends with a scene in a Parisian hospital, where one of the outcasts of society relates the story of her downfall to a member of the Chamber of Deputies.

We are not so much concerned with these plays from the dramatic or artistic point of view, but rather as strong, straightforward revelations of hidden evil, and the frank clean way in which the author has handled exceptionally difficult subjects. They are all intensely sad, it may be said depressing, but women fighting the woman's battle have got to look life in the face and see it as it really is. And this is what M. Brieux is trying to make the thinking world do; moreover, he is always pointing out how women suffer under one-sided legislation and one-sided public opinion; how the sowing of men's "wild oats" means that the reaping is generally done by women.

It will be hardly necessary to say that these plays have come under the ban of the English censor; in the words of the author himself, put into the mouth of the doctor in "Damaged Goods":

A respectable man will take his son and daughter to one of these grand music halls, where they will hear things of the most loathsome description, but he won't let them hear one word spoken seriously on the great act of love. . . . only as many barrack-room jokes, as many of the foulest music-hall suggestions as you like. . . . Science never.

Smug respectability, built on a false security, and worldly hypocrisy that blinds itself to all but commercial value and success, are the things which M. Brieux would teach us to hate and despise. It is significant that, after "Damaged Goods" was forbidden by the French censor, a Swiss Minister of Religion invited the author to read his play from the pulpit!

Whilst on the one hand these plays depress us with

their realistic pictures of evil and suffering, on the other hand they encourage and inspire, for truth is better than falsehood and ignorance, even at the cost of peace of mind. We hail M. Brieux as a champion in our battle, for, with the sword of truth in his hand, in the form of his powerful pen, he is helping to widen the breach which, eventually letting in the full flood-tide of light, shall disperse the darkness, servant and hand-maid of evil.

K. Douglas Smith.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN.*

In most of the eight lectures which compose this volume, although not actually concerned with the political aspect, the real spirit of the woman's movement has been grasped. It is also interesting to notice that this keynote is sounded more distinctly by the women lecturers than by the men. For instance, Professor Lodge makes us feel a little weary with such a sentence as—

At the present day, taking politics in its wide sense, a woman like Mrs. Sidney Webb, though without a vote, is a more prominent and influential personage than ninety-nine of the male electorate.

The influential person we have endured so often. We turn to Miss Lumsden on the "Position of Woman in History," and find the following passages refreshing:—

But woman, after all, is a human being, and what I would try to do is to test her position by its approximation to a human standard of excellence.

Here is water to the thirsty, and again:—

But why should man, free in the spiritual world, deliberately stifle by conventional and artificial restrictions the priceless power of individual energy in any human being? Might not Society have reached a riper development, human nature a fairer stature, if woman, half the race, had not been persistently coerced and repressed?

All the harm done by cruelty to the body, sweating and underpayment is still small as compared with the mischief wrought by the coercion and repression of the mind exercised over the female half of humanity for countless ages. Miss Lumsden closes her lecture with these words:—

It is not the swing of the pendulum we are watching; it seems rather the slow unrolling of a great cycle of spiritual evolution.

If that is a fact—and we believe it to be so—no power on earth can hinder its ultimate triumph.

Taking Professor and Mrs. Thompson's lecture on "Woman's Position from the Biological Standpoint," we find several sensible and trenchant remarks on well-worn points. For instance, to the old adage, so dear to the average male, that woman's place is the home, they add:—

So that one might answer much, but firstly, that much depends on the home.

Space forbids me to touch on all the lectures: it is sufficient to add that this little volume will be of interest to all concerned in the Woman's Movement, and of much use to speakers and writers who deal with the movement in its wider aspects.

K. D. S.

"CLERGYWOMEN."

It will come as a surprise to many women that in the early Church women appear to have been recognised as "ministers," were ordained by bishops, and fulfilled the priestly functions. In an exceedingly interesting and thoughtful book Miss Hatty Baker gives chapter and verse for this belief. She closes with an earnest appeal to women who are conscious of a divine call to the ministry not to be afraid of obeying it, although it may mean (she says pathetically) loneliness in this present life. "Women in the Ministry," by Hatty Baker (Hon. Sec. Free Church League for Women's Suffrage) is published by Messrs. Daniel. Sixpence net.

TWO NEW NOVELS.

"The Model Millionaire," by Corn Minnett, despite obvious defects of style, makes pleasant reading in the way of a light, holiday kind. It is optimistic, dealing with people who are young, happy and good. Money is extremely plentiful in this story, and it gives these charming persons the chance of being happy in helping others. It may not be like life, and there is too much millinery in the description of the heroines, but the authoress has a light touch, and excellent instincts. London: Ham-Smith, 6s.

"The Case of Letitia," by Alexandra Watson, is a carefully written, readable story about, of course, Letitia, a rather pretty but otherwise ordinary girl, who make the mistake of marrying the wrong man, and learns to appreciate the right one. The interest turns on whether the mother shall renounce her child or the man she loves, and she solves the problem in what is perhaps, in fiction, an unusually simple and straightforward manner. London: Smith Elder and Co., 6s.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Twentieth Century Magazine." June. Price 25 cents.
"The Mystic Bride." By Mrs. Aubrey Richardson. London: T. Werner Laurie. Price 12s. 6d. net.
"Women as Inspectors." London: The Central Bureau for the Employment of Women. Price 3d.

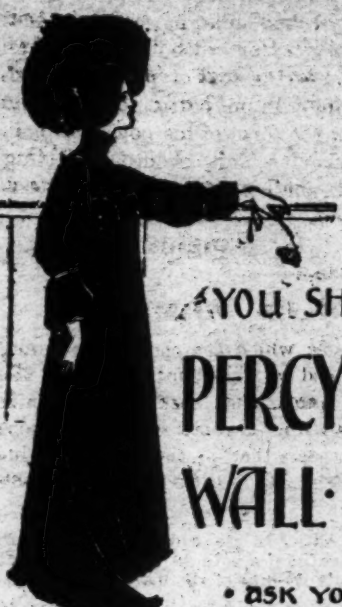
* "The Position of Women: Actual and Ideal." Preface by Sir Oliver Lodge. London: Nisbet. 3s. 6d. net.

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A SIX WEEKS' PAUSE.

"For six weeks," says Carlyle, "they sat there—like souls waiting to be born. . . . For six weeks, their history is of the kind called barren, which, indeed, as Philosophy knows, is often the fruitfulness of all."

He was writing of the six weeks that elapsed between May 5 and June 17, 1789; between the day on which the States General assembled at Versailles, full of high hopes that revolution might be averted now that the people, the Third Estate, had at last received recognition; between this significant date in the history of French liberties and that other landmark, June 17, when, finding conciliation no longer possible, the people ceased to wait on the pleasure of the First and Second Estates and constituted themselves a National Assembly; and within forty-eight hours they had passed a resolution declaring it illegal to tax the people without the people's sanction. May 5 and June 17—two very significant dates in the Revolution of 1789; and, since historic dates, like historic events, sometimes repeat themselves, two very significant dates in that greater revolution now going on in our own country.

For six weeks, waiting to hear what was going to be done with their Bill, the Woman Suffragists have been making the kind of history that is called barren because it is not punctuated with dramatic events. The preliminary triumph of May 5 secured to our own Third Estate, the women, the right to be taken seriously in their demand that they should not be taxed without their consent. It would have been easy on May 5, as it would have been easy on the same day in 1789, to insist openly and forcibly at once that enfranchisement should instantly follow—even the more constitutional wing of the suffrage party was saying in public that there is a point at which patience becomes slavish. As in that other historic six weeks the reformers decided to pause. But, Carlyle goes on to say, "a pause, with the people behind you, may become resistance enough"; and the pause of the last six weeks has had the Suffragists behind it—not merely this society or that one, but every Suffrage Union in the country. And on June 17 the result of the apparent pause was seen in a great National Assembly of women—greater, perhaps, than any national assembly of people that a common cause has ever called together, though the greatness of it depended not so much upon its length or upon its numbers, but rather upon its representative character and its unanimity.

Never before have Militant Suffragists and Constitutional Suffragists, Liberal, Conservative and Socialistic women, Anglicans, Catholics and Nonconformists, rich and poor, leisured women and workers, consented to forget the smaller differences that usually divide them, for the sake of showing that they were at one in demanding that much bigger thing—liberty for half the human race. The pause between May 5 and June 17, 1911, has had the Suffragists behind it, and it will make history as surely as did that other six weeks' pause in 1789.

Probably no street pageant has ever meant so much in the whole history of street pageantry. Women representing British queens, abbesses, peeresses, burgesses, and free women of the past, who have wielded political power in these islands; others who are free women to-day in other portions of the Empire; all these meant a good deal more to the thinking spectator than mere component parts of a pageant of history or a pageant of Empire. Still more significant was the group marching under the banner of the Manchester Women's Trade Council, though the cockney onlooker, who has never heard of power loom weavers, of hank and bobbin winches, gassers, doublers and reellers, probably connected these in his mind with a troupe of trick cyclists or a fresh incursion of foreign folk dancers. Another aspect was conveyed by the women graduates, by the actresses, the musicians, the writers; another by the business women, the civil servants, the pharmacists, the gardeners, gymnasts and nurses; yet another by the seven hundred lance-bearers at the head of the long line, testifying to the seven hundred terms of imprisonments served by Militant Suffragists. Women who have lost patience, women who are losing it, women who retain it with immense difficulty, women wearing the red, white and green, women wearing the purple, white and green—all these walked together from Westminster to Kensington, from the East to the West, in the direction that civilisation always advances; and London, old and blasé as it is, had never seen anything like it.

But the greatness and the magnificence lay not in the bands and the flags and all the bravery of decoration, but in the appeal of it. "There is both a power and a magic in public opinion," said Abraham Lincoln, when he too was hoping for a peaceable solution of a great human question; "to that let us now appeal; and while in all probability no resort to force will be needed, our moderation and forbearance will stand us in good stead when, if ever, we must make an appeal to battle and to the God of Hosts." It was the first of these two appeals, to the power and the magic of public opinion, that was heard in the tramp of many thousands of feet last Saturday. It was our women's last appeal for a peaceable end to their forty years' war against prejudice, an appeal to which a little real hope has been added by a recent statesmanlike pronouncement. And it will surely serve them in good stead when, if ever, they have to make that other and more terrible appeal to battle and the God of Hosts.

Evelyn Sharp.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN

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FRIDAY, JUNE 23, 1911.

THE PREMIER'S PROMISE TO WOMEN.

The Prime Minister's letter to Lord Lytton, explaining and amplifying the important statement made on behalf of the Government by Sir Edward Grey, puts us in possession of a definite and complete pledge of full facilities for the Women's Enfranchisement Bill. It is a pledge upon which women can base the expectation of taking part as voters in the election of the next and every future Parliament.

Before the General Election the Prime Minister had promised full and effective facilities for the new Parliament. A study of the Parliament Bill and its effect upon the Constitution showed that only Bills introduced in the first two Sessions were certain of passage into law without the intervention of a General Election, and showed also that Bills introduced in the later Sessions ran a greater risk of delay by the Lords than would have been the case under the old régime. From this it followed that effective facilities for this Parliament meant facilities in 1911 or 1912.

The Women's Social and Political Union therefore declared that an offer of facilities for 1913 or any subsequent Session would be regarded as tantamount to a refusal of the promised facilities for this Parliament.

The Prime Minister has now assured us that the Women's Enfranchisement Bill is to be allowed to pass

within the first two Sessions. Consequently the measure will have the security, afforded by the Parliament Bill, of becoming law before the next General Election. In this respect Woman Suffrage stands in the same favoured position as the Home Rule question itself, and what the Irish members and electors with their political power have gained, voteless women have gained by dint of militancy backed up by sheer hard work.

The Prime Minister outlines the Government's scheme of facilities as follows:—There is to be a week, elastic in its limits, for the Committee stage; there is to be a proper use of the Closure, and the days needed for Report and Third Reading stages will be provided.

All this is valuable, but far more valuable and more important still is the Prime Minister's assertion that the Government, though divided as to the merits of the Bill, are unanimous in their determination to give effect, not only in the letter, but in the spirit, to their promise in regard to facilities. For these words constitute an assurance, expressed without any reserve or qualification whatever, that the Women's Enfranchisement Bill is to have a full and free opportunity of enactment before the two effective Sessions of this Parliament are over.

Why the Government, having undertaken to give full facilities next Session, should hesitate to give them now is a mystery impossible to penetrate, but it may be conjectured that certain Ministers hope that delay will have a weakening and disintegrating effect on the Suffragist forces. Never was hope more ill-founded. We are confident that if facilities should be given now the Bill will pass successfully through every stage, but if, on the other hand, another year must be spent in agitation then the support given to the Bill in the country and in Parliament will be even greater than it is to-day. The number of open and avowed anti-Suffragists is insignificantly small. The chief danger will proceed from the moving of wrecking amendments calculated to gain the support of false friends and of those friends also who are well-meaning but ill-advised. The sole remaining hope of the enemy is to divide the Parliamentary majority for the Bill by wrecking tactics. The opponents of this movement will make a last desperate effort to snatch our victory from us, and therefore we must now work with more energy and more enthusiasm than ever in the past. There must not be in the House of Commons one Member who can say that the men and women in his constituency are indifferent to or opposed to the Women's Enfranchisement Bill. Not only so, but in order to ensure that the Bill is passed by them at the first time of asking, the members of the House of Lords must be supplied with evidence that will convince them of the extent of the popular demand for votes for women.

Already this Union is planning out a great and extended campaign for the purpose of making certain the promised victory. From now until the Bill is carried the country must ring with the cry of Votes for Women. But this work of agitation and education must not be left, as in the past it has been, entirely to women aided by a band of men allies. Those who have assumed the office of political leaders of the people will be expected to educate public opinion on this, as on other questions. Women look to Members of Parliament and, above all, to those Ministers who support the Women's Enfranchisement Bill to keep the country informed of the reasons why women ought to have the vote.

The battle for the vote is nearly over now. Encouraged by the great success already won, and led on by the prospect of victory, we shall do willingly and gaily the hard and unremitting work that still lies before us.

And all the time the militant spirit will be kept alight in our soul, and the weapons of militancy will be ready to our hand. We know by what methods the present success has been attained, and we know also that these same militant methods are the real and ultimate guarantee of victory. The army of militant women reinforced as it is by a group of brave men still stands ready to advance at need, and will never be disbanded until votes for women has been made law.

Christabel Pankhurst.

A QUESTION OF HUMANITY.

"None can refuse that which the womanhood of a nation asks."

A speech by Mrs. Annie Besant in the Albert Hall, June 17, 1911.

The question that you are here to support is not really a woman's question, but a human question, as important for men as it is important for women. For men and women cannot be separated into two separate halves. They are one humanity, halves of a single whole, and all humanity is the poorer, all humanity is wronged, when in any question it divides one sex from the other and tries to range them in opposite camps.

Nothing could be worse for England, nothing more fatal to the Empire, than that it should be necessary for women (nearly seventy-five thousand of them) to-day to walk through the Empire's metropolis in order to claim that which is refused to them by a Parliament of men! It is true (let us never forget it) that men on this side also are trying to help women, and that it is mere inertia, slovenliness, custom, indifference, which makes it so difficult for the woman to gain her place in the counsels of the nation. It is also true that if you want the vote you are bound to have it, for none can refuse that which the womanhood of a nation asks. If you want it you will have it. But the point of most importance, if I may dare to say so, is that by the granting of the vote by men they will close the gulf which threatens to yawn between the sexes, and give to women what they alone can give, because in their hands alone is the power of making law.

The Vote Won.

What will you do with the vote when you have it? That is the practical question of to-morrow, because the vote is really won, and it is on your use of it that the value of the struggle will be judged by history. For men have had the vote by thousands and hundreds of thousands. The whole of the last century was a continual repetition of widening out the suffrage. And yet, in spite of that you see misery to-day, drunkenness to-day, ignorance to-day, wretchedness to-day. Oh, if women cannot use their vote any better than men have used it, then I fear that in the history of the future the work that has been done will hardly seem to repay the expenditure that has been made.

Men and women in all things should work and walk together, for emphatically, here more than anywhere else, two heads are better than one. Woman is not the same as man, but different, and in her difference lies her value. If she were only going to repeat all over again and say double to the men, then your vote would matter little. But if you bring to it your women's hearts and your women's brains; if you remember that the nation is only the family, and that it cannot do without the mother any more than it can do without the father; if you realise that, then when men and women join hands in legislation, as in other things, you are not simply doubling a vote, you are multiplying a nation. For the women will bring new elements into legislation, the women will bring a new type of thought, a new power of application and administration. What we want in England is that every subject may be judged by man and woman together, not working against each other, but working because they are complementary to each other, and each brings its own share to the common work of life.

And so, if I may do so without impertinence, I, who stand outside the political battles of the times, wish you well in your work, not so much because it is a question of politics as because it is a question of humanity. The nation needs her daughters as well as her sons. She has a right to their services, for the nation is the mother of us all, and wherever the men's voice and the women's are heard together there sounds out the perfect chord of human harmony. You have a monotone in your legislation, you have a monotone in your administration, and you want the chord—the man and the woman sounding out in harmony together.

Remove the Barriers.

There is nothing that should be closed against a woman which a woman is able to do. In every department of human life men and women should go forward, and no barrier should exist for either except the limitation of their own faculties. The churches should open to your women, the learned professions should open to them. Every task that woman's brains can master and woman's hands can do is hers by right divine, and if women can gather together a meeting such as this, if women can organise the mighty Procession which walked through London to-day, if woman's voice can gain a hearing from her fellows and women's tongue can sway as men's can sway, then who shall dare say "Be silent," when Nature gives the power? We only ask you not to put barriers in our way, not to build up walls in front of us. If we are weak, you do not want to put up walls to keep us out, and if we are strong enough to do you service then it is better that the walls should not be builded.

And so for the sake of the nation, for the sake of the race of humanity, let men and women together strike away all artificial barriers and know themselves as one—man and woman together in the home, man and woman together in every office of administration, man and

women together in the Nation's Parliament, man and woman together in every walk of life.

You say England is going forward, but in the woman's question she has gone backward, not forward, through the centuries. Why, in the Procession to-day there marched women representing the Peeresses who of old sat in the House of Lords. They were called on to do their duty there as well as men. And you have gone backward into the Dark Ages, for women, instead of coming out of them. And to-day you have welcomed one of the oldest of the workers, Mrs. Elmy, who worked when there were no meetings in a hall like this; who worked when scoff, ridicule, and mockery were the weapons that were used against the woman's claim. She sees in this vast hall, she saw in the great Procession that acclaimed her, that her work is lovingly remembered and women's gratitude is given her. And now that the Pioneers' work is over, now that the road is opening before you, now that your hands are stretched out to take the power that will soon be yours, remember that you will answer to the nation, to humanity of the future, for the use you make of it. And grow into the noblest type of womanhood—strong, brave, calm, able to stand and to help, without losing woman's most exquisite characteristics—the mother-heart that is tender to the weak and that raises up the fallen. And so go forward on your way, and may that Power which is neither male nor female, but expresses itself equally in both—may that continue to be behind your movement and to bring it to the triumph that you deserve.

TREASURER'S NOTE.

Quarter of a Million to be Raised!

As we went to press last week the figures of the Campaign Fund raised by the Headquarters of the Women's Social and Political Union stood at £99,590. We knew that the £100,000 line would be crossed at the Albert Hall meeting.

First to be announced was a cheque for £200, from one who more than five years ago gave the first subscription to the W.S.P.U., and has never failed on any and every great occasion throughout the history of the campaign to lead the way with most generous giving—our beloved colleague and friend, Miss Mordan. Mrs. Ayrton then promised £100, and Miss S. A. Turle £100, which brought the Fund within £10 of its completion. Miss Mordan had sent also with the cheque a much-prized and very beautiful cross, gold, inlaid with green enamel and pearls, valued for £10, with the following beautiful message:—

One of the oldest legends tells of a woman who sold her soul for jewels. The real, not the legendary, woman sells her jewels for the sake of her sisters.

Mrs. D. A. Thomas purchased the cross, and we ended the £100,000 Fund, as we began it, with Miss Mordan's gift. The end was but a new beginning. As a challenge to the enemy who hopes to wear down and exhaust the energies, hopes, and finances of the women's army by postponement and prevarication, the Treasurer announced the intention of now raising a Quarter of a Million Pounds to put through the war of emancipation.

Gifts then poured down on the platform. In ten minutes a further sum of £3,400 was put together, making a total of £3,807 and the war chest was filled up once more with enough to replace all that had been spent on the Coronation Procession, and nearly £2,000 over and above for the furtherance of the campaign. The collection in the collecting boxes alone was £190 odd. We owe it to hundreds of devoted and untiring workers, that the cost of Saturday's great pageant was so small. But above all we owe it to Miss Wallace Dunlop and Miss Downing and those whom they gathered around them. To them is due all the credit of the beautiful Historical Pageant and Empire Pageant, as well as most of the decorative features of the W.S.P.U. contingents of the Procession. Words cannot express the thanks the Union owes to them.

We need money at this crisis as we have never needed it before. The coming year must be devoted to the most strenuous work ever yet done since we set out to get Votes for Women. We want many more trained and equipped organisers to send out into the constituencies. Political Committees, Party Agents, Members of Parliament, Municipal Bodies, men and women of local influence as well as the electors and the voteless women of the country have to be instructed as to the exact terms of the Conciliation Bill, the danger of wrecking amendments, and they have to be roused to active participation in the Votes for Women Campaign. The coming year is essentially the political year, the year of the ultimate and supreme crisis. Therefore let us all work harder, give more, be fuller of initiative and enterprise than ever. Let us make absolutely sure of winning the Vote now, by making it impossible for the Government to fail in carrying out the Prime Minister's pledge, and let us also during this coming twelve months lay the sure foundation of a strong and independent Woman's Party that shall use the vote not for small and selfish ends, not for rewards of place and personal power, but for the welfare of the nation and the good of Humanity.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

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| Already acknow- ledged | £97,146 9 5 | Mrs. Camp | 0 0 6 |
| Miss Maud H. Joseph | 1 0 0 | Miss Eygett | 0 1 0 |
| Miss Blanche Hearnsum | 0 5 0 | Anon. | 0 2 0 |
| Mrs. Herbert Cohen | 30 0 0 | Programme Advertis. | 4 19 0 |
| Mrs. E. Garvie | 0 4 0 | Sale of Cakes | 0 11 1 |
| Dr. H. B. Hanson | 1 0 0 | Profit on Shop | 2 12 4 |
| Miss Maria Hilles | 0 2 0 | Teas | 4 2 1 |
| Miss Birch | 1 0 0 | Programmes | 2 11 0 |
| Andromeda of Holborn | 0 7 6 | Miss Johnson | 0 2 6 |
| Miss S. E. Dewe | 1 5 0 | Miss Marion Ecole | 0 0 6 |
| Miss H. Allanson-Winn | 0 5 0 | Miss M. Fison | 0 4 6 |
| Miss M. Allanson-Winn | 0 5 0 | Miss Elvey | 0 1 4 |
| Brussels Meeting (Per Mrs. Massy) | 20 0 0 | Mrs. Murrell and Miss Block | 0 2 6 |
| Mrs. Florence Bousfield | 5 0 0 | Miss Lillie Roe | 0 2 0 |
| Forest Gate W.S.P.U. | 4 16 10 | Miss Waters | 0 3 6 |
| Mrs. Almon Hensley | 5 5 0 | Mrs. Parker | 0 1 0 |
| Miss Charlotte Briggs | 0 5 0 | Miss Watson | 0 1 0 |
| Miss Graily Hewitt | 3 3 0 | Miss Marsters | 0 1 0 |
| Mrs. S. F. Dudley | 0 2 6 | Miss Whitehead | 0 1 0 |
| Mrs. L. Eglington | 1 0 0 | Miss Morgan | 0 0 6 |
| Miss G. Jansson | 0 5 0 | Miss Nichols | 0 0 6 |
| Miss B. | 0 1 0 | Student of Newham College | 0 5 0 |
| Miss H. | 0 1 0 | Miss Grace Roe | 0 5 2 |
| Miss J. | 0 1 0 | Miss Buck | 0 2 0 |
| Mrs. Caroline Kenney | 0 7 0 | Mrs. Brooke Edwards | 0 2 0 |
| Mrs. Hylton Dale | 1 0 0 | Mrs. Burch | 0 0 6 |
| Mrs. Groves (per M. Colby) | 0 5 0 | Mrs. Bastian | 0 5 0 |
| Miss Hargraves (do.) | 0 5 0 | Anon. | 0 0 6 |
| Miss S. Leonard (do.) | 0 5 0 | Mrs. B. S. King | 0 2 0 |
| Miss Rose (do.) | 0 5 0 | Miss Heygate | 0 1 0 |
| Miss C. A. West | 0 5 0 | Mrs. Ramsbottom | 0 2 0 |
| Miss Beryl Churchill | 1 0 0 | Mrs. Notcutt | 0 1 0 |
| Miss Maud Aldie | 2 0 0 | Mrs. Yates | 0 6 0 |
| Julius Singer, Esq. (In memoriam) | 0 10 0 | Miss B. Ridley | 0 3 2 |
| 1. Nahum? | 1 0 0 | Mrs. Warnes | 0 1 0 |
| Miss S. M. Waidie | 1 0 0 | Mrs. Alan Turner | 0 1 0 |
| Mrs. M. A. Court Rep- ington (coll.) | 0 15 0 | Miss Lott | 0 2 8 |
| Sydenham Meeting (per Miss McKeechle) | 4 0 0 | Per Miss Fraser Smith— Extra on Miss Gold- stein's meeting | 0 4 3 |
| Miss C. E. Rumble | 0 2 6 | Extra on Library | 0 3 6 |
| Mrs. Pope | 0 15 8 | Extra on "V. I. W." | 0 2 0 |
| Miss Anne Martin | 1 0 0 | Candy Sale | 0 8 0 |
| Mrs. F. Livingston | 1 0 0 | Miss Methven (retd. fare) | 0 7 5 |
| Mrs. Ada Riley | 0 10 6 | Per Miss B. Wylie— Jumble Sale (per Mrs. Reid) | 12 10 0 |
| Miss N. Timm | 0 1 0 | Use of telephone | 0 2 9 |
| Neville Sponge, Esq. | 0 2 0 | Extra on "V. I. W." | 0 0 9 |
| "Hair combs sold" | 0 0 6 | Profit on literature | 1 5 0 |
| Mrs. Sim | 0 10 0 | Entertainment | 0 2 0 |
| Miss M. Mackenzie | 1 1 0 | Mrs. Hatrick | 0 6 0 |
| Madame Bruna Max | 2 0 0 | Miss Hay | 0 6 0 |
| Miss M. Ingram | 0 2 6 | Miss Burnet (sale of marmalade) | 1 0 0 |
| Per Miss L. Answorth— Mrs. Devon | 0 1 0 | Anon. | 0 2 0 |
| Mrs. Berry | 0 1 0 | The Misses Abel | 5 0 0 |
| Miss Rogers | 0 1 0 | The Misses Henderson | 1 0 0 |
| Miss Palmer | 0 1 0 | The Misses Johnsons | 0 6 0 |
| Mrs. Powell | 0 1 0 | Miss Anderson | 0 6 0 |
| The Misses Perchard | 0 1 0 | Miss Dunn | 0 6 0 |
| Jumble Sale | 2 2 0 | Miss Campbell | 0 6 0 |
| Miss Sharman | 0 5 0 | Miss Cook | 0 6 0 |
| Mrs. Perchard | 0 1 0 | Miss Hamilton | 0 10 0 |
| Per Miss R. Barrett— Sale of Antiques, &c. | 1 1 6 | Anon. | 0 10 0 |
| Per Miss L. Burns— "A Stirling Friend" | 0 2 8 | Miss Wylie | 5 0 0 |
| Miss J. Duncanson | 5 5 0 | Mrs. K. Wright | 1 0 0 |
| "After the meeting" | 0 4 6 | Miss M. Smith | 1 0 0 |
| Anon. | 0 8 0 | Miss Mitchell | 0 6 0 |
| Miss Lucy Burns, B.A. | 1 0 0 | Mrs. Turner (per sub.) | 0 10 3 |
| Miss A. L. McNeill | 6 0 0 | Mrs. White (trans. sub.) | 0 2 6 |
| Miss H. M. Logan | 0 5 0 | Census Fines. | |
| Miss Christina Murray | 0 1 0 | Mrs. T. C. Burke | 1 0 0 |
| Per Miss H. Craggs— Miss Hill | 0 10 0 | Miss B. E. Avery | 2 0 0 |
| Miss Mori | 5 0 0 | Miss A. E. Willson | 1 5 0 |
| Per Miss A. Davies— Profit on "V. I. W." | 0 11 6 | Miss Dorothy Melb | 1 5 0 |
| Birkenhead Meeting | 0 18 6 | Miss Ruth J. Pim | 1 5 0 |
| Teas | 0 3 7 | Per Miss L. Answorth— Mrs. Pielson | 0 1 0 |
| Per Miss Downing— Cardiff Collection | 3 2 5 | Mrs. Stokes | 0 1 0 |
| Miss Edith Downing | 1 1 9 | Per Miss L. Burns— Miss Duffas | 0 6 6 |
| Mrs. Downing | 0 10 0 | Per Miss A. Pankhurst— Mrs. Cramp | 0 2 6 |
| Per Miss D. Evans— C. L. Hodgkinson, Esq. | 0 5 0 | Dr. Sproull | 0 3 6 |
| Miss Bradburn | 0 2 0 | Self-Denial. | |
| Miss Boswell | 0 5 0 | Mrs. Mary Auld | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. and Mrs. Crickmay | 0 2 0 | Mrs. Bertha Brewster | 12 0 0 |
| Miss Campion | 0 5 0 | Miss K. A. Williams | 0 5 0 |
| "A Park Hill Member" | 0 5 0 | Mrs. D. M. Granville | 0 10 0 |
| Miss Mary Floyd | 10 0 0 | Per Miss D. Evans— Miss Eastgate | 0 4 0 |
| Miss Lettice Floyd | 0 5 9 | Miss Barnwell | 0 1 0 |
| Miss Noblett | 0 5 9 | Miss Stephenson | 0 1 5 |
| Post Office Girls | 0 10 0 | Miss Price | 0 4 3 |
| Miss Ramsbottom | 0 2 0 | Miss Morrison | 1 7 8 |
| Miss Midgley | 0 3 8 | Per Miss S. Rife— Miss Brass | 0 2 9 |
| Per Miss Flatman— Profit on "V. I. W." | 0 5 6 | Profit on shop | 3 0 0 |
| Anon. | 0 2 6 | Per Miss Key Jones— Mrs. Coultate (env.) | 0 0 6 |
| Mrs. Gwynne Hughes | 0 1 0 | Per Miss A. Pankhurst— Mrs. Cramp | 0 0 6 |
| "J. A. F." | 0 5 0 | Misses Emerson and Gothard (env.) | 0 2 4 |
| Mrs. Charlton Kings | 0 5 0 | Mrs. Parker (env.) | 0 1 8 |
| Mrs. Wishaw | 0 5 0 | Dr. Waller (env.) | 0 4 0 |
| Miss Mary Wishaw | 1 0 0 | Per Miss Fraser Smith— Mrs. Renny | 2 12 6 |
| Nurse V. Sanderson | 0 4 0 | Per Miss B. Wylie— Miss C. Barrowman | 0 1 6 |
| Miss Maisey | 0 2 0 | Collecting Cards | |
| H. Workman, Esq. | 0 18 6 | Miss A. B. Clarke | 0 10 0 |
| Per Miss Key Jones— Miss Dunbar | 0 5 0 | Miss M. T. van Hegan | 0 2 6 |
| Per Miss A. Kenney— Mrs. Hatfield | 0 2 6 | Miss Lucy Flint | 0 3 6 |
| Mrs. Greenlade | 0 2 0 | "A. R. C. M." | 1 6 0 |
| Miss I. Bagelow | 0 2 0 | Miss Irene Kirby | 0 2 8 |
| Miss Barrett (trav. exp.) | 0 6 0 | Mrs. L. Archibald | 0 17 0 |
| Miss Flatman (do.) | 1 2 6 | Madame Bertalot | 0 5 0 |
| A. A. Smith, Esq. | 0 1 0 | Miss Annie Walker | 0 4 3 |
| Mrs. Powell | 0 3 6 | Miss B. Smyth-Pigott | 1 10 0 |
| Miss Powell | 0 1 0 | Miss Amy Winter | 0 4 8 |
| Mrs. L. B. Stevens | 1 0 0 | Mrs. A. J. Webb | 0 9 8 |
| Per Lady Constance Lytton— Miss Marie Hamilton | 0 2 6 | Mrs. Lawrence | 0 6 0 |
| Per Miss F. E. Macaulay— Jacobs, Esq. | 0 5 0 | Miss E. Whitley | 0 8 8 |
| Profit on Literature | 0 7 7 | Mrs. McInnes | 0 1 0 |
| A Friend (per Miss Nicholl) | 0 2 8 | Per Miss D. Evans— The Misses Earl | 0 18 0 |
| Mrs. Tite | 0 10 0 | Mrs. S. B. Braton | 0 6 0 |
| Per Mrs. Mansel— Sale of Goods | 0 5 10 | Miss C. A. Neal | 0 10 0 |
| Census meeting | 0 2 6 | Per Miss A. Kenney— Miss M. Mayhew | 0 2 0 |
| Profit on Teas | 0 8 3 | Per Miss A. Pankhurst— Anon. | 0 3 6 |
| Mrs. Pawson | 0 4 0 | Mrs. Guest | 1 7 0 |
| Miss Schuster | 0 2 0 | Membership Fees | 9 10 0 |
| Whist Drive Tickets | 1 4 0 | Collectors, &c. | |
| Refreshments | 0 10 0 | London | 152 13 6 |
| Census Night Coll. | 1 2 6 | Per Miss Davies | 4 9 11 |
| Sale of Chutney, etc. | 0 1 6 | Per Miss D. Evans | 0 16 2 |
| Miss Pritchard | 0 7 6 | Per Miss S. Fife | 0 10 0 |
| Mrs. Wigney | 1 0 0 | Per Miss S. Flatman | 19 16 0 |
| Per Miss G. Roe— Mrs. Chatterley | 0 2 0 | Per Miss Key Jones | 0 5 2 |
| Miss Hammond | 0 1 0 | Per Miss A. Kenney | 1 5 3 |
| Miss Carr | 0 0 6 | Per Miss P. Macaulay | 12 4 6 |
| Miss Hopkins | 0 0 3 | Per Mrs. Mansel | 16 1 7 |
| Miss Barrett | 0 1 0 | Per Miss A. Pankhurst | 6 2 10 |
| Mrs. H. Brown | 0 1 4 | Per Miss G. Roe | 54 0 9 |
| | | Per Miss Fraser Smith | 0 7 1 |
| | | Per Miss B. Wylie | 24 10 8 |

Total - £97,700 2 4

The Fund, including cash banked to date and unpaid promises, totals £103,400.

MASS MEETING IN THE ALBERT HALL.

Quarter of a Million to be Raised if Necessary.

Every Suffragette knows the feeling. It is with you when you wake and know that though there are clouds, it will not rain; it stirs when you meet the purple, white and green bills; it leaps up when you see London full of women in white, every one of them a good Suffragette; and it just overflows when you see the Embankment beginning to fill. It has no exact name, for it is compounded of so many emotions—it is exaltation, but calm; it is energy, but restrained; it is expectation, but confident—perhaps after all, it's nothing but honest pride—the pride of being one in the greatest winning army in the world.

Every Suffragette knows it and feels it most at a great meeting like that of last Saturday in the Albert Hall, which was memorable amid so many that we shall remember always. The huge hall was full, endless rows above the other of white-uniformed soldiers, representative of every class and age, profession and political party. Even the little group on the platform was a cosmos in itself—Mrs. Ayrton, Mr. and Mrs. Brailsford, Mr. and Mrs. Zangwill, Dr. Ethel Smyth, Lady Stout, Mrs. Saul Solomon, and Mr. Nevinson. As though to emphasise this solidarity came a message of sympathy from the International Congress meeting at Stockholm, and another from "Men Internationalists," showing that men and women worked together for the right. Even time was obliterated, for in the orchestra sat representatives of the famous women of all ages, and who shall say that the spirits of those who had fought and done citizen duty in ages past were not present with us? From the dim vistas of the past these women who had lived, and died so nobly came to help on the Cause, to see that the country they had loved would at length give justice to its womanhood, and earn the claim to be really great. Some of those present, perhaps, did not realise that the spirits of the mighty dead were there; but for their less clear vision there was another picture. With the leaders on the platform, one of whom is in the beginning of womanhood, sat one whose bright, brave spirit won her as much admiration as her frail body won sympathy. Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy has indeed grown old in this fight. For years she fought almost single-handed, patiently and tirelessly winning reform step by step, and looking forward through darkness and disappointment as though she foresaw the coming of the mighty army whose young and hopeful spirit she still shares, in spite of her 78 years. Were it for Mrs. Elmy alone, one thinks a Prime Minister would feel it a privilege to hasten a little the coming of Woman Suffrage, and reward the life work of so faithful a public servant.

A Little Longer.

But the way is not long now! The note of the whole meeting was expectation of early victory. Indeed, unconsciously one fell into speculation about the great Albert Hall meeting soon to come when the granting of the Suffrage to women would be celebrated. The great Procession of the women means victory, as Mrs. Pankhurst said; the small insignificant band of a few years ago had become an irresistible force. The Prime Minister had at last acknowledged that and had given his definite pledge for next year.

Miss Pankhurst put it in a sentence: "We acted for many years in faith; now we have proof that that faith was amply justified." Realising that it had taken thousands of years to produce the smallest change in human affairs, our hearts might well leap in triumph that in five or six short years we had been privileged to do so much. But there was also a warning in her speech. The watchword of the Union had ever been to be ready, and we must not let the certainty of victory mean a relaxation of effort. We must indeed be more watchful. There might be more fighting to be done, more sacrifices to be made, but "the thing we had set out to attain is worth the sacrifice of everything we have to give."

Those who came to such a meeting for the first time may have understood from her speech something of the dauntless courage of the Suffragettes; from Mrs. Potlick-Lawrence, who spoke next, they may have caught a glimpse of the motives that inspire the whole movement. Why so much for such a small thing? Mrs. Lawrence brought before them the vision of the sweated woman worker; the underpaid widow, driven out to work while her children are taken to the workhouse; the woman with no alternative but the streets, the wronged wife, the outraged children, the dying babies—these were some of those whom happier women longed to help; but, being fettered themselves, they were powerless.

By Mrs. Lawrence, too, the newcomer was shown the boundless generosity of women. Unfiring they give their time, their work, their money. Two minutes after her appeal the fund had leapt to one of its landmarks—the £100,000—which had seemed so high an endeavour, and a new mark had been set—a Quarter of a Million. Promises came

in hundreds and fifties, twenties and tens, fives, single pounds and lesser sums, so much that the total could not be counted at the meeting. This was the Suffragettes' answer to Mr. Asquith—"You have given us a pledge, but meantime we keep our armour bright."

The meeting closed with a beautiful speech from a famous woman outside the ranks of political fighters. Mrs. Annie Besant spoke on the wide human plane. Seeing in her mind the fight already won, she struck an earnest note in asking women what they would do with the vote, for by that history would judge them. The right was nearly theirs; they must use it and help humanity without losing the woman's mother heart.

It is almost impossible to pick out representative people from such an enormous gathering as that in the Albert Hall. One could see, however, the Colonies represented by Mrs. Fisher, wife of the Prime Minister of the Australian Commonwealth, Mrs. Saul Solomon, widow of a member of the Cape Town legislature, Lady Stout, wife of the Lord Chief Justice of New Zealand, Lady Brassey, whose name has so long been connected with our Colonies; literature represented by Miss Elizabeth Robins, Mrs. Hertha Ayrton, Mr. and Mrs. Brailsford, Mr. and Mrs. Zangwill, Mr. H. W. Nevinson, Miss Beatrice Harraden; music represented by Dr. Ethel Smyth; India represented by their Highnesses the Maharajah Gaekwar and Maharani of Baroda; Freemasonry represented by Mrs. Annie Besant; the Church by the Rev. Percy Dearmer.

Another interesting feature was the presence of Members of Parliament and their wives, including Mr. and Mrs. Ellis Griffith, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Roch, Dr. C. Leach, Mr. Pickersgill, Mrs. Annan Bryce, Dr. F. W. Jowett, Mr. J. H. Thomas, Dr. W. A. Chapple, Mr. A. H. Marshall, while among other notable people were the Lord Mayor of London, Lady Betty Balfour, Winifred, Countess of Arran, Katherine, Duchess of Westminster, Lady Speyer, Lady Maud Warrender, Sir Charles and Lady Rivers Wilson, Muriel, Countess De La Warr, Lady Idina Sackville, Hon. Helen Brassey, and Miss Lavina Bingham.

MRS. PANKHURST'S SPEECH.

Mrs. Pankhurst, in opening the meeting, spoke as follows:—

My first duty to-night is to select from innumerable messages sent to this meeting from all parts of the world those that I propose now to read to you. The first message comes from the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, now meeting in convention at Stockholm:—

International Woman Suffrage Alliance sends hearty good wishes for success of your great Demonstration to-day.

Another message comes from the Men's International Alliance for Woman Suffrage, meeting in the same place. And then, from the far distant parts of the Empire, as well as from women Suffragists of all nationalities, comes a message from 4 women far away in Vancouver. Between the two extremes a great conference, representative of women of all parts of the world, there come many messages, and among them is a message from women in Ireland, telling us that all their hearts are turning towards this meeting to-night.

It is very difficult, friends, to say anything adequate at the close of this magnificent women's demonstration. As we begin the meeting the end of the procession is leaving the Embankment. When the procession finally formed up it reached from Westminster Bridge to the Mansion House, and here we wait, the advance guard of the procession, in meeting assembled. We are not even fully assembled on the platform, because one of our speakers, Mrs. Besant, of international fame, is still marching in her portion of the procession.

What does this demonstration of ours mean? It means victory! And here we are to-night, not only in the sure and certain hope of victory, but with a sure and certain knowledge that victory is very near. We, who began as a small, insignificant band of women only a few years ago, are now a mighty army, an irresistible force, a force that is bound to win, because it is a force, because it is an army composed of individuals all animated with a burning desire for freedom. Not only with a burning desire for freedom, but with a strong and mighty determination to win that freedom, not for any selfish ends, but in order to make the world into which we have been born better and happier than it ever can be without the help of women.

It is my duty, as presiding over this meeting, not to thank—because they do not want thanks—but to congratulate all those women who have been organising this procession during the past few months. We on this platform without their loyal help and co-operation would be helpless, and so I want, as chairman of this meeting, to congratulate us all on having to-day disproved once and for ever all the world-old lies about women! We have proved we can combine; we have proved we can put aside all personal beliefs and all personal objects for a common end; we have proved that women have great powers of organisation; we have proved that women have great artistic capacity. And all this we say with pride, with modest pride, because we know that in proving all these things we have

shown that women, alongside with men, are worthy to build up a humanity that men can never make without our help. That is the keynote of our meeting—unity and co-operation for humanity. And with that note in the hearts of us all I call upon Christabel Pankhurst to move the resolution.

MISS CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

Miss Pankhurst moved the following resolution:—

That this meeting rejoices in the coming triumph of the Votes for Women cause, and pledges itself to use any and every means to turn to account the Prime Minister's pledge of full and effective facilities for the Women's Enfranchisement Bill.

Proceeding, she said:—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—We stand to-day speaking with a more certain hope than we have ever had before of the early triumph of our cause. We have acted through many years simply in faith, and now we have absolute proof that our faith was amply justified. I want to take your minds back to the opening of the new Parliament. We found ourselves then in possession of a pledge from the Prime Minister that full and effective facilities would be given to the Conciliation Bill in the present Parliament. Looking at that pledge, we asked ourselves what was needed to carry it into effect, and as practical politicians we quickly realised that by virtue of the provisions of the Parliament Bill promoted by the Government it was necessary, if we were to have full and effective facilities in this Parliament, that those facilities must be provided in the first or second session of this Parliament. People said to us, "You cannot expect to get these facilities before the third session, and you won't get them before the third session." We said, "We will get them before the third session. We are determined to have facilities which will be effective, and therefore we demand that our Bill shall be carried within the first two sessions of the new Parliament." And, my friends, we have got what we demanded. We said we would refuse an offer for the third session, and that offer has not been made to us. We said that we would have the protection of the Parliament Bill—and that protection is now guaranteed to us. We wanted—we still want—our Bill carried this session. We should prefer that, because there is no time like the present, and because we should have thought that there was rather more time this session than there is next. Also we felt, and I believe you all feel, that it would have been an act of true statesmanship to carry the Bill in this present year, which is one of national and imperial rejoicing. Anyone who understands what this Conciliation Bill for Woman Suffrage really is; anyone who understands that it is a great measure of liberation, that it is a great act of justice; anyone who understands the mighty significance of this measure would hasten to put it on the Statute Book in this present year. Unhappily, there are some of our politicians who do not yet realise the immense gifts that the triumph of this movement is going to bring to humanity. In insight, in imagination, in capacity for understanding the greatest things, they fall short. That is why some of them have hesitated to render us the justice which they now see has got to be rendered. They have hesitated to render it in this most important year. But, as I say, we have in any event got an assurance which will place in our hands before the next general election the right to vote. (A Voice: "Will it?") Yes, my friend, it will. And I will tell you why. Because we are here to see that it shall do so!

An Elastic Week.

Now, what has Mr. Asquith promised us? He has promised us an elastic week for the committee stage of our Bill. Well, when Suffragettes have got hold of that elastic they will see it stretch just as far as the interests of the Bill require it to stretch. We have done a great deal of stretching of elastic in our time, and I think the little bit of stretching that is needed now is certainly not beyond the power of an army such as is gathered before us, an army which is but a fraction of the greater army outside that cannot all be with us rejoicing here to-night. Yes, my friends, that elastic week is going to stretch to any length that proves to be necessary! Then we have got in addition a definite pledge of the days necessary for the report and third reading stages. When this pledge was first introduced to our notice the Government was pledged to a week, and nothing but a week; it was not pledged to the third reading days. But now it is. So we have advanced a good deal in the last few weeks.

But what we attach the most importance to is the conclusion of the Prime Minister's letter. He says, "The Government, though divided in opinion on the merits of the Bill"—we are not worried about that. They will be all in favour of it when it is on the Statute Book; there will soon be no Anti-Suffragists left in the Government, or anywhere else! People always do homage to the accomplished fact. "The Government," he says, "are unanimous in their determination to give effect, not only in the letter, but in the spirit—in the spirit, my friends!—to the promise in regard to facilities which I made on their behalf before the general election." We take our stand upon this assurance that the pledge made to us is to be fulfilled in the spirit as well as in the letter. My friends, it is the first time in human history that politicians have made a pledge to women and under-

taken to fulfil it in the spirit! There is something new coming over the world at the present time. Evidently the uprising of women has had some effect, even in the few short years since it began. When you think of the long, long time it ordinarily takes to produce the very smallest change in human affairs, I think our hearts may well leap in triumph to-night that in five or six years we have been privileged to do so much.

I have said we are an army. That is exactly what we are—an army which never will disband until it has finally accomplished its work. We have our 'deputation' even now in readiness to go forward at the word of command. Our army is prepared for battle at the earliest moment. Why, telegrams are written out in order to summon our soldiers from all parts of the United Kingdom—from Ireland, from Scotland, from England, from Wales. They are ready to come when the call is given. Now, never, never since this movement began, has our sense of responsibility been so great. Never have we given so much anxious thought as to the step which it was proper to take at this grave and important crisis in this great movement of ours. My friends, while it is a privilege and a joy greater than human beings have ever known before to be called the leaders of the great host that marches under the banners of the Women's Social and Political Union, it is at the same time the sternest duty and the heaviest responsibility. I believe, that human shoulders have ever borne before. We have had to think whether we, by refraining from protest, were leading our wonderful army into a trap or whether, by being immediately militant, we should be making a wanton and needless sacrifice of your health and your energy, perhaps of your very life; because we must remember that since last we had a deputation we have lost two of our dearest comrades as a direct result of what the deputation suffered at Westminster in November. Well, we have thought, and we have thought, and we come here to-night to tell you that, because of the Government's assurance, we are not at this moment going to give the call to the deputation to move to Westminster, but we do say to one and all of you, be ready to advance at a moment's notice! Do not think that because we have a pledge that we can afford to be less watchful. We must be more watchful. It may yet be that before we see this Bill of ours on the Statute Book more fighting will have to be done, more sacrifice will have to be made. Well, if that should be so, we are ready for the fighting. Fighting is a joy to us, and submission is a thing that we have forgotten all about! Sacrifice—well, I suppose, it is as bitter to Suffragettes as it is to others; but the thing we have set out to obtain is worth the sacrifice of everything we have to give, and it is worth more than that. And so we say to the generals of the opposing forces, "We are ready to conclude peace with you when our Bill has received the Royal Assent, and not before."

Beware of False Friends.

Now, a few practical words as to the dangers which confront us still. One of them is—well, one of them is not the Anti-Suffrage movement. That is dead. That is nowhere. But what we have to fear just a little—well, not to fear; we do not know fear—what we have to be on our guard against is the false friend and also the unwise friend. Not to put too fine a point upon it, what we must be careful about is wrecking amendments in committees. Now there are some people who are so kind that they want to give us everything before we have got anything. In their generosity they say it must be all or nothing. Well, our Bill will be well piloted by the Conciliation Committee, with its chairman, Lord Lytton, and its secretary, Mr. Brailsford, and many members of Parliament, too many to name, whose services are greatly appreciated. We have these Parliamentary experts piloting our Bill through committee, and it is our business to see that members of Parliament, one and all, are brought into line and are pledged to follow the Parliamentary lead given by the Conciliation Committee.

Now, to these adult Suffragists and others who may want to extend our Bill until it cannot get through the door, who may seek to divide our forces in the House of Commons, we say: We count you as enemies more dangerous than the innocent, old-fashioned Anti-Suffragist who, in so far as he is not dead altogether, provides comic relief to the situation. Other Reform Bills have been introduced in the past which have not been perfect, but if anybody had tried to make them perfect then they would have been doing the worst service possible to the people whose vote was at stake.

Now, one final word to our forces here assembled. Have no fear! You never feared, even in the darkest days, even in the days when there was no gleam of hope to be seen except in our own hearts. We have come before you often to chronicle rebuffs, to chronicle reverses, and what have you felt then? Why, your enthusiasm has been increased a hundredfold. You have cheered hostile messages, cheered them to the echo, in order that you might express fully the defiance you offered to these challenges from the enemy. Your enthusiasm must be just as high in the days of hope and success as it has been in the days of disappointment and in the days of reverse and difficulty. We are here to-night, a conquering army. We have only to march forward now into the promised land. But we want you to realise that there is harder work before us than

any we have done before. We want you all to dedicate your lives, from now until the day of victory, to the sole and single purpose of getting this Act carried. Have no fear, I say again. We shall triumph; but the guarantee of our triumph does not lie in the pledge of the Prime Minister; it does not lie in the support of the House of Commons. It rests with us, and with us alone. Forward, then, forward, and conquer!

MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

The Hon. Treasurer of the Union then rose amid great applause, and said:—

We have given to-day such a demonstration of the solidarity of womanhood as has never been given in the world before. We have come forward, women of every class, women of every grade, women who represent every part of the King's Dominions Overseas, women who represent every civilised country in the world—we have come forward, a strong and united army, to claim full and equal citizenship with men in the human commonwealth, and this claim has been backed by men who love liberty and justice for their own sake.

Why do we make this claim of full and equal citizenship? Because it is only citizenship that can give to women or to men full opportunities for service of their country and of their race. To-day's Demonstration has been a loyal and patriotic Demonstration. We women love our country just as much as men do. We are as proud of our Empire and of belonging to an Imperial race. Women as well as men pay tribute of money, of service, and of sacrifice. The toll of suffering and death paid upon that battlefield where life is created is greater than the toll of sacrifice and death paid upon that battlefield where life is destroyed.

We Had the Vision.

We want the vote because we want to serve our country and race, because the progress of humanity means as much to women as it does to men. But that is not the only reason. We want the vote also because we know and realise the pitiable condition in which millions of women are living in this Empire to-day. We hear the call of need from our own sex as well as from all humanity. We who were walking in the Procession to-day could not see all the beauty of its Pageant. The onlookers saw that. But we had the vision of those for whom we fight. We saw them this afternoon. We see them now. We see the sweated home-workers toiling from morning to night in this and every other great city, working to keep a roof over their children's heads and earning a miserable pittance of less than 5s. a week. We see the underpaid tailoresses in the Government clothing factory, those women in Pimlico whose wretched wage was reduced a few weeks ago by twenty-five per cent. We see the mother, the woman who has given up life and energy and service in the care of the home—that most important work, as we believe it to be—we see her in the hour of her widowhood driven out into the unskilled labour market to earn a wage which will barely keep her from starvation. We see the belief in the sacred words "mother" and "home" thrown aside, while her babies are taken from her to be brought up in the loveless atmosphere of the workhouse. We see the young girl driven to a life of shame by the pressure of economic necessity. We see the wronged wife, for whom there is no equal justice before the law. We see the little girls ruined in body and soul, sometimes by the very men who ought to be their protectors. We see little babies die by thousands in the first year of their lives. *That is why we want the vote.* We have heard the weeping of the mothers in the land. We have looked into that abyss of helplessness and misery wherein the womanhood of our country is thrown. And when we stretched out our hands of help to free them from this bondage we found that we, too, were fettered. *That is why we want the vote.*

The Breaking of the Fetters.

We are determined that these fetters shall be broken. We are determined that this war for the emancipation of womanhood shall neither be abandoned nor abated until woman's emancipation has been won. Ah, but, my friends, we are very practical people in this Union. High as our ideals are, we know what is necessary to bring those ideals into reality. We know that a War of Freedom, just like any other war, cannot be brought to a successful issue with an empty war chest. And I am going to second this resolution of rejoicing in the triumph of the women's cause by asking you to rejoice in deeds, not words! During the past five years women have put together, with great sacrifice, with strenuous effort, a sum of nearly £100,000. We are going to cross that line to-night. And you, who are here at a meeting like this for the first time, shall see us do it.

A Challenge.

Friends, our conflict is not over, though we may well rejoice at the stage that we have reached. As our last speaker has said, in a certain sense the most difficult and the most strenuous year of all our work begins to-night. Our enemies have tried in the past the tactics of wearing down this agitation. They have tried to wear out our hope, our energy, our enthusiasm, to exhaust our strength and our patience. Those tactics have not succeeded. Those tactics will not succeed. It is we who have worn them down. We have worn down their opposition. But if there are any of our enemies who think that such tactics will ever succeed, let us give them a challenge to-night. When we have touched the line of £100,000 I shall announce the intention of this Union to raise a quarter of a million pounds. I believe that a very long time before that sum is reached women will be voting.

Well, it is for you now, friends, to take up that challenge. It is for you to show what you can do. It is yours to prove your enthusiasm, to prove your determination in deeds, to show that you are firmly resolved to break the fetters and to vindicate the honour and dignity of the womanhood of this country.

THE COLLECTION.

The ready response which is always forthcoming from members of the Union answered Mrs. Lawrence's appeal. Cheques, collections, and promises in large and small sums brought the Campaign Fund eventually to £103,400.

Miss Besant's fine speech will be found reported in full on p. 629. The last speaker was Miss Vida Goldstein.

MISS VIDA GOLDSTEIN.

I want to say how honoured I feel to-night in being on the same platform as Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy. We have known Mrs. Elmy's name for many years in Australia, and some of my dearest possessions are letters from Mrs. Elmy wishing us God-speed in our work in Australia. Now, ladies and gentlemen, it is exactly three months since I arrived in England to share with you the privilege of working in this wonderful Women's Social and Political Union. Three months ago I knew of you and your leaders only what VOTES FOR WOMEN, my experience in our long struggle for the Suffrage in Australia, and my own instincts told me. Now, after three months' experience of the work of this Union, three months' observation of the moral and spiritual fervour, not only in your leaders but right through the rank and file, I can only say that I thank you a thousand times for giving me this great privilege of sharing in your work.

I cannot tell you anything of my feelings to-day when I took part in that wonderful Procession. I believe that that Procession will melt even the heart of Mr. Asquith, and that you will have Votes for Women in 1911! That Procession was a beautiful Pageant of Empire; it was a beautiful Pageant of Internationalism; but, far more than all that, it was a great Constitutional demand for a great Constitutional right—the right to work side by side with men in laying the foundations of that righteousness which alone exalteth a nation.

Just a few minutes ago, at the Empress Rooms, I was speaking a few words about a leader that appeared in the *Times* this morning, where the *Times* put up an impassioned plea for Imperial citizenship. Now, Imperial citizenship will soon come about, and I am glad to think that Australia and New Zealand have shown the way to secure that Imperial citizenship by giving Votes to Women. Because, when this Imperial citizenship, that at present seems a dream, is realised—and I am sure it won't be very long before it is—then it can only be granted on the basis of the freest franchise in existence, and that is in the country to which I have the honour to belong. I know that you will soon be citizens of no mean country.

The Resolution was then passed unanimously.

OVERFLOW MEETING AT THE EMPRESS ROOMS.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence, who presided at the overflow meeting of the W.F.S.U. held at the Empress Rooms, Kensington, congratulated all who had taken part upon the triumphant success of the procession, the tail end of which had not even at that hour reached the hall. How different was the position of Woman Suffrage to-day from what it had been only a few years back. Then it had been regarded purely as an academic issue; to-day they were confident of approaching victory. He well remembered the deputation to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in 1906, and the discouraging answer that the Government could give them no promise for their Bill, but counselled patience. Patience with nothing in store, said Mr. Lawrence, was a poor solace, and he was glad to say that the Women's Social and Political Union had always refused to accept it. He reminded the meeting that the years which followed Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's utterance had been years of vigorous activity, and that in 1908, after Mr. Stanger's Bill had been carried through its second reading by a great majority, Mr. Asquith had announced that it was the hope and intention of the Government in the dim and speculative future to bring in a Reform Bill to which Votes for Women might be added by the House of Commons. Such a promise had, of course, been rejected with scorn by the Suffragettes, and a further period of struggle had ensued.

Then came the period of truce, which, because it followed upon militancy, had been equally productive of good results. A great stride was made when time was specially provided in 1910 for the second reading of the Conciliation Bill, but again women had been met by the refusal of the Government to allow the question to be finally settled in the House of Commons. Mr. Asquith's promise in November of last year for effective facilities in the present Parliament was also unsatisfactory, because he had not specified any one session when the fulfilment of the pledge could be called up, and dissolution might take place on an emergency crisis without the pledge having been fulfilled at all. A few months ago Mr. Asquith had explained the operation of the Parliament Bill, and had pointed out that only the first two sessions of a new Parliament could be considered effective for the carrying of controversial legislation. That statement put a new complexion upon Mr. Asquith's pledge for Woman Suffrage, and showed that, if it were to be fulfilled in the spirit, time would have to be provided either in 1911 or 1912. The Women's Social and Political Union, realising that 1912 would be very busy with the Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment Bills, had emphatically demanded that time should be provided for Woman Suffrage in 1911. This the Government had refused, but a statement on their behalf had been made by Mr. Lloyd George in the House of Commons with regard to next session. The promise contained in this statement was not at all satisfactory, and the Women's Social and Political Union had refused to accept it. Shortly afterwards Sir Edward Grey, who had shown himself to be an active friend within the Cabinet, made a further pronouncement on behalf of the Government. Even this, however,

did not constitute a binding promise upon the Government to provide effective facilities in 1912. Now, this morning Lord Lytton had received from the Prime Minister a still more definite statement which placed the question in an entirely new light.

The Meaning of the Prime Minister's Letter.

Mr. Lawrence then read Mr. Asquith's letter to the audience, and pointed out that the week promised had now been stretched out to an elastic week for the Committee stage with further time for the report and third reading of the Bill, that reasonable closure facilities were to be allowed, and that Mr. Asquith had stated that his promise would be fulfilled in the spirit and not only in the letter. He added that the leaders of the W.F.S.U. had very carefully scrutinised it line by line, and that as a result they had come to the conclusion that it was an effective promise for full facilities during the Session of 1912. Victory was, therefore, almost within their grasp.

Mr. Lawrence proceeded to say that in his opinion it would have been a statesmanlike act if the Government had decided to grant Votes for Women this Coronation year. But the leaders of the W.F.S.U., though they intended to continue to press this point of view, did not feel that they would be justified in making it the basis of a further militant demonstration at the present time. Nevertheless, the W.F.S.U. was a fighting army, and the members enrolled for the deputation must hold themselves in readiness for any emergency that might arise.

If their Bill was not to have facilities until 1912 there was a great deal of work to be done in the meanwhile up and down the country. In particular, they had to make it clear that those who supported wrecking amendments would be regarded in the same light as direct opponents of Woman Suffrage. The woman's movement would go on from this day forward no less vigorous and active than before, but with the knowledge before them of certain victory in the immediate future.

MISS GOLDSTEIN.

Miss Vida Goldstein, who followed, congratulated the English Suffragists upon the triumphant display of that afternoon, and upon the pledge which they had won from the Government. She was confident that when the English Suffragists

had obtained the franchise, as they were going to do so soon, they would be able to make use of it in the same way that the women in Australia and in New Zealand had used it—to protect women and children and to further the interests of the country.

She referred in particular to the legislation brought about to deal with infant mortality. In the nine years since women had had the vote the death rate of infants in the Commonwealth of Australia had fallen from over a hundred per 1,000 to 77 per 1,000, a result which was largely attributable to the special influence of women in framing the laws of the country.

MISS ANNIE KENNEY.

Miss Annie Kenney, after referring to the service rendered to the movement by Sir Edward Grey, told several amusing stories of some of the electors with whom she had come into contact. One man had persistently refused to believe that women had been given the vote in Australia and New Zealand, saying: "You are quite wrong; in no civilised country have women ever received the vote." Another man had voted alternately Liberal and Conservative, giving as his reason for his attitude at the last election that the member had "evidently done something wrong or they would not have dismissed him from the House of Commons ten months after he had been sent there." Amid the laughter of the audience, she suggested that women, when they possessed the franchise, would perhaps be able to rise to the intellectual and political judgment which the men electors were showing at the present day.

MISS CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst, who came on from the meeting at the Albert Hall, struck a final note of assurance and confidence. The Women's Social and Political Union had known how to take rebuffs; they had now to show that they were equally capable of turning success to account. During the coming months they would carry on a campaign of propaganda even greater than before, and they looked to Members of Parliament, and particularly to friendly Members of the Government, to assist them in this campaign by educating the people of the country to a knowledge of the importance of the enfranchisement of women.

The collection and promises given during the meeting amounted to £148, which was sent to swell the total at the Royal Albert Hall.

LEADING ARTICLES IN THE PRESS.

THE DAILY NEWS.

There are certain prejudices of great age and once of lusty strength which must now be dead for all who witnessed the women's procession on Saturday. It used to be said that women lack the masculine talent for organisation. There has probably never been in this country a demonstration on so large a scale in which every arrangement worked so entirely smoothly. It used to be said that women could never co-operate for any large purpose common to their sex; feminine jealousy was a phrase which concluded any argument. On Saturday women of every calling, of every social grade, of every political complexion, of every sect, of every organization, of half the countries of the world, united in a common cause. Men think it a memorable day when Mr. Asquith and Mr. Balfour sit upon the same platform. Looking upon Saturday's gathering of women they must have felt that the fellowship of men must be a slight thing, or the causes which unite them of little account, when compared with the fellowship of women in the cause of the vote.

Many men are puzzled at the spectacle of all this lavish expenditure of the human spirit for the winning of the vote. They have had the vote themselves so long and at such little cost that they forget that their fathers slew and burned and died for it; they forget even that the goals of Russia are still filled, and the hangmen still busy with men who demanded a share of political power. It is easy but not worthy to make light of what has everywhere been bound up with blood and anguish, and the anguish of women is as precious as the anguish of men. They have given, and are giving, their martyrs for the vote, and there is as much passion, as much devotion, as much fortitude, as much spiritual elevation in this struggle of the women as ever lifted a nation out of subjection, or carried a religion to recognition. These are the finest offerings humanity can make, given for the highest boon humanity can desire. For the vote, though an instrument of power, is valued chiefly as the symbol of freedom. No man who looked on at the long and various line of women on Saturday could afford to be cynical or contemptuous of the purpose which brought them together, or the spirit in which they came together. The emotions and the ideal represented are of the quality to provoke any response but indifference. We can love liberty, or hate liberty, but we must not trifle with it. We can be inspired by devotion and courage, or we can be angered by them, but we cannot be cool and indifferent towards them.

There were in Saturday's procession veiled women from the East and women in academic robes from the West, women from every colony of the Empire, and women from most of the great States of the world. It was an international gathering, and an international congress to demand a political privilege for British women is a strange political happening which yet strikes none of us as strange. If Irishmen were to call in the help of Frenchmen, Germans, Italians, and Hindoos to secure Ireland liberty we might be shocked; but that Englishwomen should summon the women of the world to help them win the vote is normal and natural. The battle which Englishwomen are fighting is not their own battle only, nor the prize of victory only the vote. It is the battle of all women and the emancipation of all women. There is a new order in which women mean to have a worthy place. Those many thousands of Saturday included many various ideals. But upon two things they were all agreed—upon the necessity for struggle and upon the necessity for women themselves determining their own fate. This unity of women and this universality of the cause lift the movement into the rank of the great revolutions, and the march to the Albert Hall may take its place with the march of the women to Versailles.

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.

Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the great Suffragist procession in London on Saturday is that it should be necessary. For what, when you come to think of it, can be more obvious than that sex alone cannot in the modern world be held to constitute an absolute and eternal barrier to the rights of citizenship which in all civilised Western States are recognised as belonging to the mass of men? We are not living in

China or even in Japan, nor are we living under a political system which gives all authority in the State to a limited order of privileged persons. Every day that passes helps to break down the barriers of education, of opportunity, of custom, and of law which have divided the sexes, and every day sees the distinctions of class disappearing and a fuller recognition of human rights for the less fortunate and the disinherited. How, then, can it be judged possible permanently to resist the demand of women able, educated, responsible, propertied, the equals of any men in capacity and training and enormously the superiors of the mass of men in every qualification for exercising influence in the State, when they ask to be allowed to share in rights long since conceded to the poorest, the most dependent, the most ignorant? The thing is preposterous, and probably there are very few people capable of thinking at all who in their hearts do think that the demand can be permanently resisted, however much they may dislike it. But if this be so, why should it be necessary for 40,000 women to gather from all parts of the kingdom in order to demonstrate, at great cost and inconvenience, the fairly obvious fact that they are in earnest in what they ask, and that they mean to have it? Would it not be more reasonable as well as more generous not only to abstain from resisting such a demand but to welcome it with open arms?

THE DAILY CHRONICLE.

With sure and certain steps the cause of Women's Suffrage is marching to victory. Saturday's remarkable Procession in London served as a prelude to the inevitable triumph. This beautiful pageant was one of the most impressive demonstrations that London has ever witnessed. It had been organised with consummate ability. It used to be said that women could not combine together. The Women's Suffrage movement proves that under the impulsion of a great idea they can unite as successfully as men. This great procession included women of every condition, class and degree—rich and poor, actresses and women graduates, doctors and teachers, ladies who grace society and women workers from mill and factory, matrons and maids, Liberal women, Conservative women, Labour women. Every part of the United Kingdom was represented by a contingent, even Ireland, where the seeds of the Suffrage agitation have fallen on somewhat unpromising soil, and sympathisers were present from the Continent and the British Dominions overseas.

THE DAILY GRAPHIC.

Even the bitterest opponents of Women's Suffrage must admit that Saturday's gigantic procession of women is a proof that a very large number of women attach great value to the suffrage, and feel keenly their continued exclusion from the civic rights enjoyed by men. The injustice does not disappear because many women do not feel it. Everybody would agree that it was unjust to deprive a man of his vote solely because he had lost a leg or an arm, and if only one man so maimed demanded the franchise the general verdict would be that he ought to have it, even if every other mutilated man showed indifference. The real opposition to woman suffrage rests upon the survival of a view of women which is inconsistent with the facts of the modern world.

THE WESTMINSTER GAZETTE.

The Women's Demonstration on Saturday was admittedly a great and striking success. Suffragists and Suffragettes joined forces for the occasion, and marched together, though they subsequently sorted themselves out into separate meetings. We do not intend to repeat what we have often had occasion to say as to militancy, but its effect has certainly been to "liven up" the movement in favour of the suffrage. Of that Saturday's Pageant (for that is what it really amounted to) is the best possible proof. Once again women have proved what excellent political organisers they make. It is no easy matter to arrange for the collection of 40,000 persons, and to marshal them into processional form; but this great task was achieved on Saturday and extorted the admiration of all who witnessed it.

DESCRIPTIONS IN THE PRESS.

The women have had triumphal processions before—though not, as yet, so often as to blunt by familiarity the public sense of their beauty and uncommonness—but this was beyond them all in numbers and effect. At the gathering on the Embankment the marshalled lines, gleaming with banners, extended the entire length of the great promenade. The procession was five miles long, and about 40,000 women walked in it. The march, toilsome and trying though it must have been, was well maintained in spirit as well as in stateliness, showing a wonderful capacity to endure physical strain and discomfort. —*The Times*.

Both the procession and the huge gathering in the hall itself were of the most imposing and inspiring character, and formed together a powerful demonstration of the strength and unity of the movement. —*The Daily News*.

Saturday was Suffrage Day. Never before has such a pageant passed through the streets of London as the procession in which 40,000 Suffragists marched between packed throngs of spectators from the Embankment to the Albert Hall to prove to doubting politicians that women are indeed in earnest for the vote.

It was an impressive demonstration, fitted to startle even the least observant. For in the ranks of that great army of women were old and young, women of every profession and occupation, doctors and teachers, hospital nurses, clerks and typists and business women; actresses, artists, and musicians, titled women of leisure, girl factory workers from the textile towns of the North, toiling sweated women workers from the East-end; women, too, of every religious creed and of every political party.

The successful forming up of such a vast procession was in itself a magnificent tribute to the organising powers of the suffrage societies. The whole length of the Embankment from Blackfriars to New Scotland Yard was utilised as a rallying ground. Whitehall Place and Whitehall Court, even Whitehall itself, was thronged with eager women marchers; yet, in spite of the ever-increasing crowds of spectators who massed themselves on the pavements and overflowed into the roadways, there was no confusion. Every Suffragist walked straight to her numbered group; the members of groups speedily formed five abreast; without haste or flurry the stewards distributed the banners and pennons, and punctual to the minute at 5.30 the bugles sounded the advance; the 100 bands distributed between the various sections of the procession broke into a stirring march, "The March of the Women," specially written by Dr. Ethel Smyth, and the great pageant started on its way. —*The Daily Chronicle*.

London has given, in its way, the most salient fact about the great women's suffrage procession to-day. It was an astonishing demonstration of strength and determination in a cause, but more astonishing was the acceptance, even the enthusiasm of the streets. London has seen women's processions before, but it has watched them usually with a characteristic blend of amusement and indifference. Only a year ago there was a march with banners from the Embankment to Hyde Park. There was then a thin sprinkling of sightseers along the pavements, and the women wended their way through the traffic with as little notice as is possible in a city keenly alive to all street happenings. To-day the women moved through an almost solid throng stretching uninterruptedly from the Embankment to the Albert Hall—a throng that stood now in silent admiration, pleased with the beauty of the show, now breaking into cheers as column after column of silent, resolute women went by with no display except the banners that showed the part of the kingdom from which they came. There have been many pageants, though none anything like so long or so effective, but London has never been caught in its mood of to-day. True, they were not Londoners alone. Thousands had come from all the ends of the Empire to see our Coronation glories, many of them from countries where women hardly remember that they had to struggle for freedom. Our English women walking through streets bedecked for the Coronation show were reminding us and them that in that pageant women have little share. They were reassessing the balance. The other great change was in the spirit of the women themselves. They came out, one felt, no longer in the spirit of revolt or anger, but with a new confidence as of those who at last see the goal in sight, the way clear. London has given in. The marshalling was a piece of most efficient organisation. There was no confusion, although confusion would have been easy. The police have so much confidence in the women that they left them to their huge task almost unaided. They did not even stop the traffic (for a men's procession of half the size there would have been barricades). —*The Manchester Guardian*.

The great procession of women Suffragists on Saturday was a triumph. Forming up on the Embankment, with about 100 bands, they made a procession which streamed right to the Royal Albert Hall, where they held their meeting. It was broken only for the convenience of the heavy traffic coming from many cross streets along the route, and was thus practically six miles long. Marching five abreast at about two-and-a-half miles per hour, it occupied two and a-half hours in passing Hyde Park Corner. The organisation was perfect. —*The Daily Telegraph*.

Their experience—the experience of strenuous years—of pomp and circumstance, ripened by the clash of battle, stood them in good stead. Organisation with the suffrage bodies has been carried to a fine art; their grip of the essentials of picturesque advertisement has never been firmer or more sure; and the result was that the great "Coronation Procession" of Saturday beat all their past records in engaging political panorama. It was a wonderful show. But for its earnestness, one might have described it as a transcendental circus, all gold and glitter and sparkling pageantry. But there was no clowning. The finesse that was necessary to make the grand effect was but a means to the end; this was no pinchbeck parade, but a magnificently marshalled army of stern young women and impressive matrons, who marched not so much with the light of battle, as with the gleam of victory in their eyes.

With their numbers and their well-remembered craft in skirmishing, they could, indeed, have stormed the House of Parliament, or made matchwood of the wooden monstrosities that

have transformed our beautiful London into a packing case wilderness. They could have made hash of us all. This, however, was not their business. They had other fish to fry. Out of unutterable chaos the pageant took form. At 4 o'clock the Embankment was a tumult of hurrying figures, a lumber of vast vans piled with banners and emblems of strange device. From Blackfriars to Westminster Bridge brave little messenger boys stood stalwartly at indicated points, each with a tall pole, to which was nailed a card bearing the section-number of each contingent. Lively young women moved here and there among the Press. They wore purple sashes and were labelled "Marshal," "Section-Captain," and so on. It was their business to join up the bewildering mosaic, and no royal review at Aldershot was marshalled and rounded-up with more smartness than this. —*The Morning Leader*.

The greatest Suffragette Procession ever organised paraded through London on Saturday, from the Victoria Embankment to the Albert Hall. It was six miles long, and included about 40,000 women of all classes, from the earl's daughter to the "sweated" worker. It took over three hours to pass a given point, and the Coronation traffic cheerfully allowed itself to be dislocated.

No Suffragette Procession has ever approached this in picturesqueness, variety, size, and significance. The views of Londoners about votes for women may or may not have changed, but it is certain that their attitude towards the women who demand the franchise has undergone alteration. The cheeriest relations existed between the women and the crowd. The wonderful organisation of the Procession won admiration even from the soldiers. A sergeant-major of the Guards, who viewed the proceedings from Wellington Barracks, was especially enthusiastic about the excellent way in which the affair was organised. In his opinion no better arranged and more admirably worked out procession had ever been seen in London. —*The Daily Mail*.

"There are more women here than I have ever seen before, more than we have in all our country, and they have turned out a great show."

This was the criticism of a Colonial visitor to London as he watched the wonderful Coronation march of over 40,000 women at the Suffragette procession on Saturday, when 1,000 banners were carried and 70 bands inspired those taking part. —*The Daily Mirror*.

For three whole hours on a June evening vast crowds of spectators watched gorgeous banners, bearing brave words, pass in never-ending succession. . . . Leaning over a gaily decorated balcony there was a venerable old lady with soft white ringlets, and as the fifty thousand women passed by on their way to the Albert Hall each one among them raised her right hand in salute. For the old lady was Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, a pioneer of the woman's movement and a faithful worker for forty-six years on its behalf. —*The Observer*.

It was by far the greatest and most picturesque demonstration in support of the Votes for Women movement that the world has ever seen. —*Weekly Dispatch*.

THE CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH.

Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., writes in the *Christian Commonwealth* for June 21:—

There is only one subject on which I can write this week. I have just returned from seeing the great procession of women through the streets of London. It was a sight to make men think, and to make good men act. No such sight was ever before seen in the streets of this great city. No such sight was ever before seen

for any purpose. To one like myself, who fancied he knew something of the extent of the Suffrage organisations in Great Britain, the revelation of the real strength, as shown in Saturday's march, was astonishing. It is no wonder that the Cause has made such progress in recent years. The hundreds, if not thousands, of branches of national societies which were represented in the procession are all active and unceasing propaganda centres for the advocacy of this one question only. And the women who are working in this movement are possessed by an enthusiasm

which the most prejudiced anti-suffragist ever put forward. Well begun is half done. If the work be kept up, and all the enthusiasm and energy and skill the women possess be brought into activity, there can be next year another great procession in which the enfranchised womanhood of our nation will celebrate the consummation of the present struggle.

Saturday's march of the women provided a spectacle so remarkable that public attention



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Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy in a decorated balcony in St. James' Street, reviewing the Processionists, who saluted her as they passed.

anywhere in this or in any other land. It was the outward and visible sign of a great inward change in the outlook of women on their own position and on their relation to outward things. It was an evidence that the great silent forces of progress have brought about a revolution, the revolt of a sex against age-long suppression and degradation.

There never has been such a procession of men for any purpose. I do not believe that any organisation of men could arrange such a march, and carry it out with such perfect and unmarred success. There is no political organisation in this country which could get together such a process-

ion and devotion which gives to their soul something of the nature of religious fanaticism. The procession was remarkable on account of the way in which it showed how the movement has affected women of all classes and all political views. Nothing was more significant than the behaviour of the crowd which lined the miles of streets through which the women marched. I never heard one sneer or unkindly jest, not one word which was not an expression of sympathy and admiration. It was touching to think that it should be necessary for educated and deserving women to have to fight so hard and strenuously for the possession of a simple act of justice. The Procession itself was an answer to every objection

must be once more fastened on the object of the march, the fight of 50,000 women for "political freedom." —*The Evening News*.

London witnessed on Saturday a remarkable demonstration of the Suffragettes. It was a pageant of high artistic merit. . . . The scene at the Albert Hall was as imposing as the proceedings were enthusiastic. —*The Globe*.

The women suffragists have at long last, and after more than forty years of earnest, sustained effort, brought within "the range of practical politics," and to the point when the date of the crowning triumph can almost be fixed. —*Northern Daily Telegraph*.

PROCESSION ITEMS.

On behalf of the Women's Social and Political Union, Mrs. Tuke has written a letter to the Chief Commissioner of Police, thanking him and his staff for the courtesy which they showed to the Processionists on Saturday, and to Superintendent Wells has been sent a cheque for twenty-five guineas to be devoted to the police charities.

Among the members of the Cardiff Progressive Liberal Union who walked in the Welsh Contingent, were Miss Mary Jones in her picturesque Cymroddorion robes; Miss Lester Jones, the President; Mrs. Viriamae Jones, Mrs. Jotham, and Mrs. Glen Wade, the Organising Secretary. It is interesting to note that this Union was formed by women who resigned from the Women's Liberal Association, as they were unable to work for candidates who did not support the Conciliation Bill.

The splendid success of the Welsh contingent has inspired Mrs. Mansell-Moullin with the excellent idea of forming a Welsh Suffrage Society, of which full particulars will be given later. Will all wishing to join, write to Mrs. Davies, 57, Racton Road, Fulham, S.W.

The Free Church Contingent in the Procession was an excellent one. Among the ministers walking were the Rev. Fleming Williams, of Clapton; the Rev. E. Barson, of Penze; the Rev. George Ward, of Guildford; the Rev. Johnson, and the Rev. Hatty Baker. Mr. W. T. Stead was also in this contingent. The Rev. Scott Liddett sent representatives, as also did the new branch of Treorchy, in the Rhondda Valley.

At the head of the Chelsea Artists' section was Mrs. Swynnerton, one of the most famous women artists, also Mrs. Stillman, who was a member of the Rossetti circle.

Miss Lennox begs to acknowledge receipt of 10s. from Miss Dorothy Gorton, Dublin, and 2s. from Mr. Mac Knight, towards Irish flags. Members of the Irish contingent desire to express their thanks to the Irish pipers, who so kindly came forward and headed this contingent in the Great Procession last Saturday.

THANKS!

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—We feel we should very much like to express our gratitude to all the people who have helped us so splendidly with the Historical and Empire Pageants, and also those—far too many to enumerate—who helped us with the Procession in various ways.

We specially wish to mention Mrs. Kelsey, who organised the New Crusaders; Mrs. Keeling, Miss Lena Connell, Mrs. Ellis Dixon, Miss Constance Wallace Dunlop, and Miss Woodward, who all undertook groups for the Historical Pageant; Mr. Kenneth, of Dundee, who painted the signboards; Misses Derby and Dawson, who most kindly lent several of the crinoline costumes; Miss Bonford, who, in a few days, did wonders with the Elizabethan dresses, and was only prevented by illness from finishing them; as well as the Misses Annan Bryce, who provided their charming costumes as Joan of Arc and her page.

Besides these there are very many—some whose names we hardly even know—whose energy and devotion made it possible to get through the enormous amount of work which had to be done.

One expects wonderful things from Union members, but members and non-members—dress-makers, paid workers, everyone—worked with a wholehearted devotion truly astonishing.

We shall be much obliged if you will allow us to express, through the medium of the paper, our cordial thanks to one and all.—Faithfully yours,
MARION WALLACE-DUNLOP.
EDITH DOWLING.

12, Smith Street, Chelsea.

A REMINDER.

On Thursday in last week, at an Imperial Banquet, two members of the M.P.U. reminded Mr. Asquith of the urgency of the Woman's Bill. There was considerable uproar.

Indian Gentleman (obviously moved):—Is it true there are to be Indian ladies in the Procession? Indian ladies! Yes, unmistakable (adding in a low tone)—Wonderful, wonderful!

WOMEN FREEMASONS.

To the uninitiated the appearance of the Co-Masonic Order, headed by the Very Illustrious Bro. Annie Besant, 33rd Vice-President, Grand Master of the Supreme Council, in the Procession on June 17 may have been somewhat puzzling, and a correspondent kindly sends us some details.

As it is unusual for Masons in this country to take part in political movements, it should be explained that Mrs. Besant regards the Woman's Movement as a matter of national concern, not of party politics, and on this ground sanctioned the wearing of the Masonic regalia (the sign that women have entered into another hitherto masculine preserve) on Saturday. Universal Co-Masonry was practically born in France, about 1888, when Dr. Georges Martin, a French Mason of high rank, initiated Mlle. Maria Desraines, a well-known French author and feminist, into the mysteries and privileges of Ancient Masonry. The Lodge which ventured to make this daring innovation was promptly condemned and suspended by the authorities of the Order. Dr. Martin then devoted himself to the founding of an Order of Universal Co-Masonry, open to men and women, without distinction of race or religion. Universal Co-Masonry was introduced into Great Britain in 1902, largely owing to the initiative of Mrs. Annie Besant and Miss Francesca Arundale, the latter a French Mason of long standing. The first English Lodge was consecrated on September 26, 1902, and named the "Human Duty, No. 6, London." The Order under its British organisation "asserts, in accordance with the ancient declaration of Freemasonry, the existence of a creative principle under the title of 'The Great Architect of the Universe.' It maintains the open 'Volumes of the Sacred Knowledge' in every Lodge when duly formed for Masonic purposes. It maintains the ancient landmarks of Freemasonry. It imposes no restrictions on the free search for Truth, and to secure that freedom exacts tolerance from all its members. It is open to men and women, without distinction of race or religion, who are of good report and irreproachable life. It pledges its members to obedience to the Laws of the country, loyalty to the Sovereign, silence with regard to Masonic secrets, a high standard of honour, and ceaseless endeavour to promote the welfare of humanity."

SHEFFIELD SOCIETIES AND THE BILL.

A circular letter was sent by the local W.S.P.U. recently to all the societies in Sheffield, asking them to pass a resolution in support of the Conciliation Bill. The results were very encouraging. The resolution was passed by:—The Park Conservative Ladies' Club; Sheffield and District Federation of Free Church Councils; Sheffield and District Trades and Labour Council; Sheffield Ethical Society; the Executive of the Sheffield and District Teachers' Association; Sheffield Federated Trades Council; and the Brightside Independent Labour Party. The Attercliffe Branch of the National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers passed a resolution to the same effect, with only two dissentients. Various other societies wrote to say that their rules prevented them dealing with such a resolution, but individually they were in favour.

FINED FOR OBSTRUCTING SUFFRAGISTS.

Last Friday, Mr. Paul Taylor, at Marylebone Police Court, inflicted a fine of 20s. and costs upon a man who had created disturbance at the W.S.P.U. open-air meetings at Messina Avenue. It was alleged that each time the local members held a meeting there the defendant, a Mr. Annenberg, whose shop is at the corner of the street, and a number of his friends, made a practice of blowing whistles, motor-horns and other noisy instruments, making it impossible for the speakers to be heard. This had the effect of causing a large crowd to collect and obstruction of the traffic was the result. Several warnings having proved unavailing the police accordingly proceeded, and the defendant was fined.

At a recent Liberal demonstration Sir Walter Runciman, the father of Mr. Runciman, described himself as a "suffragette," and said he was all in favour of the women having votes.

We have much pleasure in stating that verbatim reports of Mrs. Besant's lectures at the Queen's Hall are appearing in the *Christian Commonwealth* week by week. Last Sunday evening the Queen's Hall was again crowded when Mrs. Besant spoke on "The Growth of a World Religion."

Onlooker (to Policeman): This Procession is like a wedding ring; there is no end to it!

LONDON MEETINGS FOR THE FORTHCOMING WEEK.

| Day | Time | Place | Speaker/Chair | Time |
|--------------|-----------|--|---|-------------|
| Friday 23 | 7.30 p.m. | Harlesden, Manor Park Road | Miss Perkins | 7.30 p.m. |
| " | 8 p.m. | New Barnet, The Triangle | " | 8 p.m. |
| Saturday 24 | 8 p.m. | Ilford, Balfour Road | R. Pott, Esq. | 8 p.m. |
| " | 8 p.m. | Kilburn, Broadhurst Road | Miss Guthrie | 8 p.m. |
| Sunday 25 | 3 p.m. | Clapham Common | Miss Gilllett, Chair; Miss Guthrie | 3 p.m. |
| " | 3 p.m. | Barking Common | " | 3 p.m. |
| " | 3 p.m. | Walsby Park | Victor Durrant, Esq. | 3 p.m. |
| " | 3 p.m. | Glastonbury Park | Miss Una Dugdale, Miss Fricker | 3 p.m. |
| " | 3 p.m. | Hyde Park | " | 3 p.m. |
| " | 3 p.m. | Lewisham, Oxford Team Terminus | Mrs. Bowker and others | 3 p.m. |
| " | 3 p.m. | Ravenscourt Park | Miss Wright, Mrs. E. L. Butler | 3 p.m. |
| " | 3 p.m. | Regent's Park | Miss M. Atkinson | 3 p.m. |
| Monday 26 | 8 p.m. | Kilburn, Messina Avenue | Miss M. Myers | 8 p.m. |
| " | 8 p.m. | Queen's Hall, Langham Place, W. | The Earl of Lytton, Mrs. Fethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Parkhurst, L.L.B., Working Party | 8 to 9 p.m. |
| Tuesday 27 | 8 p.m. | West Croydon, 2, Station Buildings | Committee Meeting | 8 p.m. |
| " | 8 p.m. | Barking, 35, Warrick Road | " | 8 p.m. |
| " | 8 p.m. | 160, Hammonds Road, W. | " | 8 p.m. |
| " | 8 p.m. | Natford Place, Edgware Road | At Home | 8 p.m. |
| " | 8 p.m. | Sydenham, 96, Kirkdale | Miss Myers, Chair; Miss Dixon | 8 p.m. |
| Wednesday 28 | 8 p.m. | Barnet, Tibbury's Tea Rooms, High Street | Social | 8 p.m. |
| " | 8 p.m. | Ilford, Barking Broadway | Miss Naylor | 8 p.m. |
| " | 8 p.m. | Kilburn, 215, High Road | Women's Suffrage Meeting, General Drummond | 7.30 p.m. |
| " | 8 p.m. | Paddington, 50, Strand Street, W. | Miss Richards | 8 p.m. |
| " | 8 p.m. | Barnet, 15, Tottenham Road | Miss Boyle | 8.15 p.m. |
| Friday 30 | 7.30 p.m. | 4, Clements Inn, W.C. | White Drive | 7.30 p.m. |
| " | 8 p.m. | Croydon, Katherine Street | Speaker, Chair, Miss Leo | 8 p.m. |
| " | 8 p.m. | Narrow Road, "Prince of Wales" (outside) | Mrs. Cameron, Chair, Miss Bailey | 8 p.m. |
| " | 8 p.m. | High Barnet, Market Place | Guthrie | 8 p.m. |
| " | 8 p.m. | Kensal Rise, Market Place | Mrs. Leigh | 8 p.m. |
| " | 8 p.m. | New Barnet, The Triangle | Miss Peck | 8 p.m. |
| " | 8 p.m. | North Kensington, Corner of St. Paul's Green and Haverley Road | Miss F. Ayton, Miss C. Maguire | 8 p.m. |
| " | 8 p.m. | Queen's Hall, Lower Barnet | Miss Coombs, Miss Darton | 8 p.m. |
| " | 8 p.m. | St. Paul's Green, Lower Barnet | Miss Gethin, and others | 8 p.m. |
| " | 8 p.m. | Sydenham, High Street | Open-air meeting | 8 p.m. |
| " | 8 p.m. | Thornhill Road, Clacton | Miss Lewis, Chair | 8 p.m. |

* N.B.—Owing to Dr. Ethel Smyth's Concert at the Queen's Hall on Thursday, June 29, the meeting which would normally be held on that evening in the Sydney Hall will be held on Friday, June 30.

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AUSTRALIAN WOMEN AND NATURALISATION LAWS.

At the Hotel Cecil last Friday, Mr. Fisher, Premier of the Australian Commonwealth, received a deputation from the Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Committee with reference to questions now before the Imperial Conference.

There were present Lady Stout (New Zealand), Lady Cockburn (South Australia), Miss Vida Goldstein, Mrs. Keith Adam, Miss Murphy, Miss Isit, and Miss Edith Quinlan (Hon. Sec.).

Miss Goldstein dealt with the question of naturalisation and the position of women coming to this country from Australia and New Zealand. She called attention to the loss of political status when a woman came from the Antipodes to this unenfranchised country where women could not exercise the franchise. Dealing with the Naturalisation Bill, a draft of which was before the Imperial Conference, she wished to be informed whether the Bill could not be brought into harmony with the Australian and New Zealand Naturalisation Acts. She pointed out that Australian and New Zealand men coming to this country could exercise the vote, but women were not able to do so, and she wished to know if anything could be done with regard to that difficulty.

Mr. Fisher said he thought that later on a woman would be able to come under the statute in this country. Generally speaking, a naturalised person in Australia would, he thought, be able to become a citizen of this country. What would happen in all probability was that the Bill would be introduced in all the Dominions in such a form as to make the period required identical in all the British Dominions. In England they required five years to secure naturalisation; in Australia only two years' residence was requisite. He was of opinion that the Bill would be amended so that two years' residence in the colonies and three in England would be sufficient for the purpose of naturalisation.

Miss Goldstein: That would be with regard to naturalised men, but will it be applied to women?

Mr. Fisher: We shall see when it comes. The statute is not yet passed.

Miss Goldstein: Well, so long as it is raised.

Mr. Fisher: It has been raised.

Miss Goldstein: Does that refer to women as well as men?

Mr. Fisher: We hope so, at all events. It is, of course, impossible to expect that Australia should be enabled to legislate for this part of the world, but you may be assured, I think, that amendment will take place in the Bill. I hope that women as well as men will get the benefit. The question will have to come before Parliament, and the women's opportunity will be then.

Miss Goldstein: In case the amendment fails will Colonial women be governed by the Imperial Act?

Mr. Fisher said he did not think he would be transgressing if he said that there would be very real amendment to the Bill when it came before the Imperial Parliament.

Miss Goldstein asked if they might be assured that, should the Imperial Parliament not concede the point in which they were interested, the Colonial Government would not accept it.

Mr. Fisher said they might be assured that the Act would not become law in the Dominions without their consent.

Miss Goldstein said that the Committee desired to be assured that the position of married women would be carefully considered, and that women's rights would be safeguarded.

Mr. Fisher replied that the women would be able to make proposals on the Imperial Act, and by the Imperial Government could not set aside the legislation of the Dominions, and therefore the Dominions could not claim to set aside the legislation of this country. Had it not been for this fundamental principle of legislative independence Australia would not have been able to give the vote to women at all. He must admit that England had an equal right to decline to follow the example of Australia. From this it would be seen that the principle cut both ways, and the colonies would not give up their independence for the sake of Australian women who came to this country. If they were to agree to any such condition they would be greatly retarding progress generally, for they would be compelled to follow the opinions of the most conservative people in the United Kingdom. It was only because of the self-government that the Australian Government and other Dominion Governments had been able to make progress. It was because of that principle that they had got Women's Suffrage in Australia. From his point of view, what they were asking was most desirable, but if it would mean giving up the power to which he had referred, it was obvious they could not do it. He thought he might say that the Naturalisation Bill would come before Parliament at Westminster before very long, and one of the fundamental points in that Bill was that residence in the Dominions would count in the qualifying period for citizenship in this country. As to the point about married women, he said that was being pressed none the less effectively because it was being done privately.

Miss Goldstein: We only want our own rights which we have possessed in Australia and New Zealand safeguarded here. In thanking Mr. Fisher for the attention paid by him to the wishes of the deputation, Miss Goldstein asked if he had ever got through with a deputation of more than 15 minutes, and Mr. Fisher agreed that he never had.

MR. ASQUITH'S PROMISE.

The correspondence between the Prime Minister and the Earl of Lytton on the subject of the Women's Suffrage Bill is as follows:—

Lord Lytton wrote:

"The Conciliation Committee has met and considered the Government proposal, and while its members are anxious to accept the proposal in the most sympathetic manner, they desire some reassurance upon points which still leave room for misgivings, and I was asked to find out from you whether they are justified in the interpretation which they have put upon the decision of the Cabinet. May I enumerate briefly these points, and ask you to say if we have interpreted them correctly?"

1. We understand that the Government intend the House of Commons to have an effective opportunity of passing a Women's Suffrage Bill into law next Session if so disposed, and that the week offered is not intended merely to provide an opportunity for a prolonged academic debate.

2. We assume that "the week" offered to us will not be interpreted in an absolutely rigid sense, and that if the Bill had passed through Committee with a time that the two extra days required for its report and third reading stages would not be refused.

3. We also assume that the promoters of the Bill would have the ordinary facilities of the closure which would be available in the case of a Government Bill.

"We cannot help being disappointed that no further progress is to be made with our Bill this Session, but if you can reassure us upon the points which I have mentioned you will remove a great deal of very natural anxiety."

Mr. Asquith's reply was as follows:

"My dear Lytton.—In reply to your letter on the subject of facilities for the Women's Enfranchisement Bill, I would refer you to some observations recently made in a speech at the National Liberal Club by Sir Edward Grey, which accurately express the intentions of the Government."

"It follows (to answer your specific inquiries) that 'the week' offered will be interpreted with reasonable elasticity, that the Government will interpose no obstacle to a proper use of the closure, and that if (as you suggest) the Bill gets through Committee in the time proposed, the extra days required for report and third reading would not be refused."

"The Government, though divided in opinion on the merits of the Bill, are unanimous in their determination to give effect not only in the letter but in the spirit to the promise in regard to facilities which I made on their behalf before the last General Election."

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.

In the course of a leading article on Saturday, June 17, the *Manchester Guardian* said:—The correspondence between Lord Lytton and the Prime Minister which is published to-day confirms in all respects the liberal interpretation given by Sir Edward Grey of the intentions of the Government in regard to the Women's Enfranchisement Bill. Mr. Asquith is even a little more definite than Sir Edward Grey. The "week" offered will, he says, "be interpreted with reasonable elasticity," and not only so, but if the Bill gets through Committee "in the time proposed"—that is, in the elastic week—"the extra days required for Report and third reading would not be refused." Finally, in regard to the all-important question of the closure, Lord Lytton says: "We assume that the promoters of the Bill would have the ordinary facilities of the closure which would be available in the case of a Government Bill," and to this the Prime Minister replies: "The Government will oppose no obstacle to a proper use of the closure." This, we think, is sufficient. There are three kinds of closure. There is, first, the ordinary closure, the motion "that the question be now put"—that is, that the debate cease and a division be taken. That can be moved by a private member, and, if accepted by the Speaker, must be divided upon without debate. There is next what is called the "Kangaroo" closure, i.e., a motion that the Speaker shall select the more important and relevant amendments, passing over others at his discretion. This also can be moved by a private member, but is open to debate, and must be decided by a vote of the House. Lastly, there is the "closure by compartments," by which a time-limit is imposed for the discussion of a stated portion of a Bill. This can only be moved by a Minister, because it carries with it the control of the time of the House. In the case of a very short Bill like the Conciliation Bill, which consists of only two clauses, it could hardly be needed, but there is no apparent reason why, if it should be needed, it might not be moved by one of the Ministers favourable to the Bill if its application were confined to the period of time already assigned to the Bill by the Government.

Of course goodwill must be assumed on the part of the Government—that is, an honest desire to give the House of Commons every reasonable facility for passing the Bill if it so desires, and this is precisely what Mr. Asquith assures us will be forthcoming. "The Government," he tells us, "though divided in opinion on the merits of the Bill, are unanimous in the determination to give effect not only in the letter but in the spirit to the promise in regard to facilities which I made on their behalf before the last general election"—the promise, that is, for adequate facilities for the passing of a Women's Franchise Bill through all its stages in the House of Commons. "This frank and generous declaration should, we think, remove all doubt as to the sincerity of the Government's intentions and the effectiveness of the opportunity which it has promised to give."

SOME NOTES.

Owing to the pressure on our space, the reports from our organisers have been held over. A few important announcements are however made below.

BALHAM & TOOTING.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. H. Tyler, 15, Wootton Road, Balham.
Another Whist Drive is being arranged by Mrs. McCormick for Friday, June 30, at 15, Terrapin Road. Tickets 1s. each, should be applied for early, as the number is limited. Members are asked to contribute towards refreshments for that evening either in money or in kind. Mrs. Spearman is kindly arranging a Garden Meeting for Saturday, July 1, at 2, Balham Park Road, 3 o'clock.

BARNET.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Susan Watt, 13, Stratford Road.
Members are asked to give all the help they can in working up a large audience for General Drummond's meeting on June 28. See programme.

HACKNEY.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. F. W. Jones, 29, Pembury Road.
The Committee begs all members to give assistance, so that Saturday's success may be repeated on June 29, when a Suffrage tableau will form part of the Hackney Pageant.

HAMMERSMITH.

Shop and Office—100, Hammersmith Road.
Organising Sec.—Mrs. E. L. Butler.
Now the Procession work is over, all local members concentrate on making the Jubilee Sale on July 1 a great success. Parcels to be sent to the secretary at the office, Thursday and Friday, June 29 and 30, will be devoted to sorting and ticketing the goods.

HAMPSTEAD.

Shop & Office—175, Finchley Road. Shop—25, Heath Street.
Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Hicks & Miss C. Collier.
The office will be closed for the Coronation holiday from Wednesday mid-day till Monday morning.

LEWISHAM.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Bouvier, 32, Mount Pleasant Road.
Shop hours, 9 to 6 p.m. Thurs., 10.30—12.30 p.m.
Shop and Office—107, High Street, Lewisham.
After June 24 the business of the above Union will be conducted at 32, Mount Pleasant Road, until further notice.

STREATHAM.

Shop and Office: 5, Shrubbery Road, Streatham.
Hon. Sec.—Miss Leonora Tyson.
The shop will be closed on Thursday, Friday and Saturday of this week. Please call before 2 p.m. on Wednesday to purchase your weekly supplies in advance. Members are asked to attend on Tuesday week as usual.

WIMBLEDON.

Shop and Office—9, Victoria Crescent, Broadway, Wimbledon. Tel. 1092, P.O. Wimbledon.
Hon. Organising Sec.—Mrs. Lamartine Yates, Dorset Hall, Merton, Surrey.
Will members concentrate in making known the meeting in Compton Hall on Wednesday next, June 28, at 3 p.m., when Rev. C. Hinecliff will speak on "Religion and Politics," and Miss Nellie Sargent will recite from Olive Schreiner's "Dreams." After the meeting the committee invite all members and associates to tea at the office.

MAIDSTONE, NORTH KENT, AND ISLE OF THANET.
Organiser—Miss Laura Alnsworth, 11, Oxford Street, Margate.

Monday, June 26.—Westgate, Garlinge Square, 8 p.m.
Tuesday, June 27.—Broadstairs, Station Gates, 8 p.m.
Thursday, June 29.—Margate, Cecil Square, 8 p.m.

BIRMINGHAM AND DISTRICT.

Office—71, John Bright Street. Tel., 1443 Midland.
Organisers—Miss Dorothy Evans and Miss Gladys Hazel.

There will be a performance of English Folk Music in Dance, Song and Game to help the funds, given by the Council Street Girls and Children's Clubs, under the direction of Miss Edith Ryland (similar to that kindly given last summer at Mrs. Ryland's), at Chad Hill, Harborne Road, Edgbaston, by the kind invitation of Mrs. Chance, on Saturday, July 1, at 3.30 p.m. Tickets, price 1s. 6d., include tea, and can be obtained at the office.

CIRENCESTER.

Organiser—Miss Ada Flatman, 12, Ashcroft Villas.
Tickets for Mrs. Pankhurst's meeting on July 6 will be on sale in a few days. Time, price, number and reserved 2d. 6d., unreserved 1s. and 6d.; friends are asked to apply for tickets to sell among their friends and to volunteer for stewarding at the meeting. As there is not yet a single member in the district Miss Flatman urges every sympathiser to come forward and help her make this meeting a great success.

BRADFORD.

Office—83, Manningham Lane. Phone 4036.
Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Belden, 2, Walmer Villas.
Hon. Treas.—Mrs. Hardy Behrens.
The shop will be closed until further notice; but an active open-air campaign is being organised throughout the district.

HARROGATE.

Organiser—Miss Mary Phillips.
Hon. Sec.—Miss Hughes, 46, Otley Road.
A meeting has been arranged for Friday, July 7, at 8 p.m., in the Salisbury Hotel, when Dr. Helena Jones will be the speaker. Members and friends interested are asked to apply to Miss Hughes for invitation cards for distribution.

LEEDS AND DISTRICT.

Organiser—Miss Mary Phillips.
65, Great George Street.
Members are asked to attend, well, to support Mrs. Swales and Miss Quin, who are speaking in Victoria Square to-night (Friday) at 8.
Saturday, June 24.—Victoria Square, Mrs. Swales, Miss Quin, 8 p.m.

NEWCASTLE AND DISTRICT.

Office—71, Blackett Street.
Organiser—Miss A. Williams.
Tuesday, June 27.—Shop, re-opened, 10 a.m.
Wednesday, June 28.—71, Blackett Street, At Home, Miss Williams and others, 7.30 p.m.

PRESTON, ST. ANNE'S-ON-THE-SEA AND DISTRICT.

Organisers—Mrs. Rigby, 25, Winckley Square, Preston; Miss Johnson, 25, Hyatt, Lytham.
Wednesday, June 28.—Preston, 25, Winckley Square members meeting, 8 p.m.

WALLASEY.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Mahood, Burscough Bridge, Lancs.; Mrs. F. Heathcote, 21, Martins Lane, Liscard.
Monday, June 26.—New Brighton sands (opposite Marine Park), Miss Cowan, Dr. Alice Keir, 8 p.m.

SPEAKERS' CLASS.

Hon. Education Mistress—Miss Rosa Lee, 43, Ashworth Mansions, Egin Avenue, W.
Hon. Secretary—Miss Hale, 9, Clements Inn, W.C.
Owing to the Coronation Holidays there will be no Speakers' Class to-day (Friday), June 23, but they will be resumed on June 30, when it is hoped there will be a large muster of members and new recruits.

THE ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

2, Robert Street, Strand, W.C. Telephone: City 1211.
President—Mrs. Forbes Robertson.
Organising Secretary—Miss Joan Duggdale.
The Annual General Meeting will be held in Ben Greet's Studio, 3, Bedford Street, Strand, on Friday, June 30, at 3 o'clock, to hear the General and Financial Report, and elect an Executive Committee for ensuing year. Patrons and subscribers are also invited to be present. Urgently wanted, helpers for clerical work in the office in connection with the next Criterion Meeting on July 7. Hours, 10—1 and 2—4.

THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

President—Mrs. Cecil Chapman.
Office—2, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge (opposite Tube Station).
Office At Home.—Mr. Aymer Maude will speak on "Money and Sex" at the office At Home on June 27. The committee urge all members to make this interesting lecture known among their friends.

MEN'S POLITICAL UNION

For Women's Enfranchisement.
Office: 13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C. Telephone: City 672.
Founder and Hon. Organising Sec.—Victor D. Duval.
Procession.—Although sixty members were engaged in carrying W.S.P.U. banners in the Great Procession on Saturday, yet a considerable body of men walked behind the well-known M.P.U. banner. Among these were Bishop Mathew and Sir Travers Vane, Bart., of Hutton. The ex-prisoners, Messrs. Duval, Jacobs, Franklin and Abbey, walked together behind a special prisoners' banner.
North-West London Branch.—Hon. Sec., Mr. H. J. Vielder, 36, Douglas Road, Kilburn, N.W. The inaugural meeting will be held at 215, High Road, Kilburn, on Tuesday, June 27, at 8 p.m. Mr. Franklin in the chair. All M.P.U. members in this district are asked to communicate with the local hon. sec. and endeavour to attend this meeting.

Mrs. Layton asks us to say that the writer of a letter quoted in VOTES FOR WOMEN, for June 9, and signed Dorothea Layton, is Mrs. Walter J. Layton, of The Milestone, Cambridge.

A correspondent saw three public schoolboys of ten or eleven years old with a lad of sixteen or so standing for over two hours, watching the Procession. For the last hour of the time their companion kept adjuring them to "come along," as they were all going to get into "a most holy row," but nothing would move them until they heard it was past 8.30, when they all fled!

A most successful meeting was held in the grounds of Mrs. Astey's house at Hampstead last Wednesday, when many new members were made and funds for the local Union poured in. Mrs. Pankhurst Bishop Arnold-Harris Mathew and Lady Meyer were the speakers, and some delightful recitations were given by Miss Adeline Bourne.

THE LAVENDER LAUNDRY.

A laundry which well deserves the practical support of readers of this paper is the Lavender Laundry, Stafford Road, Acton. This laundry, with which is incorporated the Acton Sanitary Laundry, is under the able management of one of our members. The lofty and well ventilated workrooms, the cheerful hum of work, and the bright, intelligent faces of the employees all make a most pleasing impression on the visitor, an impression which is strengthened by a glance at the many testimonials from customers well pleased with the courtesy, promptness and business-like methods of the management. In handling the linen the greatest care is given to fine and delicate articles, only the best soap is used, with plentiful supplies of water and out-of-doors drying. These are points which commend themselves to the woman who knows. Those of our readers in search of a laundry would do well to give the Lavender Laundry a trial.

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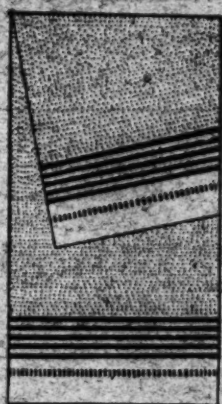
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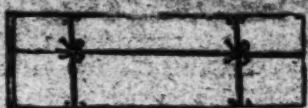
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each sheet.

BARGAINS FROM OUR SILK DEPARTMENT.

1,798 yards French Twill Printed Foulards, this season's goods, 24 and 25 ins. wide .. 2/6 1/3
1,427 yards French Twill Printed Foulards, various designs and colorings, double width .. 3/11 & 4/11 1/11
8 pieces Black Duchesse Mousseline, soft and durable. Double width .. 4/11 3/6
1,519 yards Plain and Shot Duchesse Mousseline, Rich Quality and very durable .. 2/6 1/3

RELIABLE HOSIERY.

Sale Price.

Special Bargain. Black Cotton Stocking, with natural Cashmere foot. Cannot be bought after this sale at the price .. 8d.
Bargain in Ladies' Lace Spun Silk Hose of good quality. Will be sold during this Sale only. Worth 2/11 .. 1/11
Black Lace Cashmere Hose, fine soft quality yarn for hot weather wear. Real Bargain .. 1/3
Ladies' real Balbriggan Black Cotton Hose with silk clox, every stocking stamped .. Per pair 1/6
Bargain in Satin Petticoats. In black, white, grey, navy, helio, brown, rose, mole, royal. Cheapest Skirt on Record .. 8/11
95 Dozen Ladies' Camisoles. All various lace and embroidered designs. To be cleared at .. 1/11

Summer Sale Catalogue Free on Application.



Roses and Forget-me-nots in shades white, pink, red, and mauve, 2/11.



Mixed wreath of small flowers to tone with any hat, 3/11.

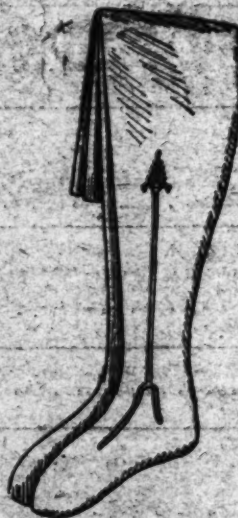


Wreath of Roses and Foliage, pink, violet rose, red, cerise, peach, prunella, 3/11.



300 Tuffed Ostrich Cravats in Black and Colours. Usual prices, 12/11 to 15/11. Sale price, 7/11.

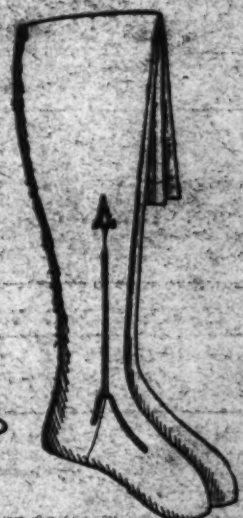
3 Special Lines from the Hosiery Department.



REAL BARGAIN. Ladies' Black Cotton Hose with silk clox. Will be sold early in the sale. 1/4 pair.



Black Lace Lisle, with fine Cashmere feet. Sale Price 1/7 1/2 pair. Every stocking guaranteed to be of good quality and of exceptional value.



Smart Plain All-Black Lisle, with black silk clox, for summer wear. Sale price 1/7 1/2 pair.

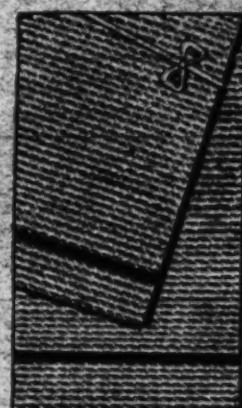
Charming Creations from the Millinery Department.



Fashionable and becoming Hat, with underbrim of black and white striped silk, trimmed with small cornflowers and small (pale) roses. Price 25/6.



Smart Chip Hat, trimmed with velvet, white wheat and roses. Very effective and becoming. 12/6.



PARCEL OF ODD COTTON SHEETS.

500 pairs Hemstitched Cotton Sheets, single bed. Size should measure 72 x 108, only measure 68 x 104 - hence these prices -
Usually 12/11 pair. To be sold at 8/3 each sheet.
Double bed should measure 80 x 108, only measure 72 x 104.
Usually 14/11 pair. To be sold at 5/3 each sheet. Good heavy tough cotton.

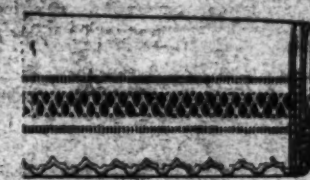
Donaghy's Parcel of plain Irish Linen H.S. Snow-white Crisp Dew-Bleached Huck Towels (for hand wear). Samples sent.

24x42 Heavy 1/3 1/4
26x42 Medium 1/5 1/4
27x42 Fine 2/6 1/4
27x42 Very Fine 2/11 2/6



300 PAIRS HEMMED AND H.S. COTTON SHEETS.

| Single Bed, per pair. | Double Bed, per pair. |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Usually. Sale. | Usually. Sale. |
| 68x3 .. 3/11 2/11 | 90x3 .. 8/11 6/11 |
| 70x3 .. 3/11 2/11 | 90x3 .. 10/11 8/11 |
| strong 7/11 5/11 | 90x3 .. 10/11 8/11 |
| heavy 6/11 4/11 | 90x3 .. 10/11 8/11 |
| 72x3 .. 10/11 8/11 | 90x3 .. 10/11 8/11 |



50 pairs Heavy Hemstitched Linen Sheets, button-holed edges.
Usually. Sale.
68x104 .. 27/6 21/6 pair
68x104 .. 35/9 27/6 ..

SPECIAL OFFERS FROM THE DRESS MATERIAL DEPARTMENT.

| | Usually. | Sale. |
|--|----------|-------|
| 87 1/2 yds. Herringbone Sulting, 34in. wide .. | 2/11 | 1/6 |
| 73 1/2 yds. Marmora Cheviot, 44 inches wide .. | 2/11 | 1/6 |
| 95 1/2 yds. Corded Silk and Wool Shantung, all good shades, double width .. | 4/11 | 2/11 |
| 67 1/2 yds. beautiful quality Silk Crepon, double width .. | 4/11 | 2/11 |
| 68 1/2 yds. Striped Armure Sulting, all this Season's colours, 44in. wide .. | 2/11 | 1/6 |
| 64 1/2 yds. Permo, 44in. wide .. | 2/6 | 1/6 |

SPECIAL SALE OF SURPLUS STATIONERY.

| | Paper Envelopes to quires 200 |
|--|-------------------------------|
| A. The Coronation Linen in exquisite shades: Helio, Sea Blue, White, and Dove Grey. Duchess size .. | 1/0 1/0 |
| Viscount size .. | 1/4 1/4 |
| B. Royal Borough Parchment. A delightful paper for every-day use in the newest azure shade. Viscount size .. | 1/0 1/0 |
| Octavo size .. | 1/4 1/4 |
| Czarina size .. | 1/0 1/0 |
| C. King George Parchment. A similar paper to line B. Same size and price, but in Cream shade .. | |
| D. King's Palace Vellum. A smooth ivory surface, and a great favourite with all users of gold pens. Octavo size .. | 1/3 1/3 |
| Albert size .. | 1/1 1/1 |

Write for our Monthly Publication, "The Bargain Booklet."

Remnants Half Price Thursdays.